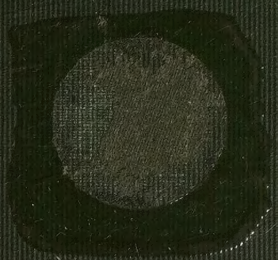
CATACOMBS OF ROME



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Original Vestibule or Entrance to the Sepulchre of the Flavian Family.

THE

CATACOMBS OF ROME,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE TOMBS

OF THE

APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL,

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

JOHN HARVEY TREAT, A. M.

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THESE Articles were printed in the La Porte, Indiana, *Daily Herald*, July 16, and Dec. 28, 1906, at the request of my old friend and fellow traveller, Mr. R. Huncheon. They are now reprinted in book form, with a few additions, and with Notes and illustrations which could not well be used in a newspaper article. The Library of Harvard College contains a very fine collection of books on the Catacombs, the largest in the country, and one of the best anywhere, the gift of the author.

THE CATACOMBS OF ROME.

I.

History of Primitive Christianity.

Vix fama nota est abditis
Quam plena sanctis Roma sit,
Quam dives urbanum solum
Sacris sepulcris floreat.

Prudentius, *Peristeph., Hym. 2*, col. 333, 334, P. L. 60.

"It is little known how full Rome is of hidden Saints; how richly the city's soil abounds in holy sepulchres."

SUBTERRANEAN Rome is a most interesting study. Most tourists visit the Catacombs simply from curiosity, or to see one of the sights of Rome. A hurried run through the crumbling galleries, with a glance at the faded and ruined frescoes and paintings by the dim light of little tapers, naturally does not impress one at all. It is only when we study their origin and learn their great importance as illustrating primitive Christianity that we can appreciate them. They are the Christian Pompeii, the buried Church, that illustrates the life, the rites, and the belief of the early followers of Christ. The inscriptions make known to us their faith — whether we accept it or not — their belief in God, the Holy Spirit, the divinity of Christ (Note 1, n. 3), the Trinity, the communion of

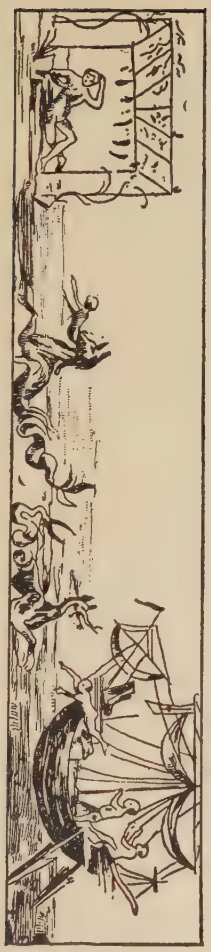
saints (Note 1, n. 4, 5), the veneration of the martyrs, the hierarchy in its various orders, the sacraments, the resurrection, and the life everlasting. They also teach us the various occupations of the Christians, whether as clergy, notaries, merchants, soldiers, fossors, etc., or engaged in other callings (Note 1, n. 2).

The paintings contain scenes from the Old and New Testaments, as Moses smiting the rock, Noah and the ark, Jonah and the sea monster — never pictured as a whale (Note 2), the raising of Lazarus, the healing of the paralytic, the Good Shepherd, and other representations.

At the advent of Christianity, burning, or cremation, was the general Roman method of disposing of the dead. The poor, the slaves and criminals, were thrown into the "putrid pits" on the Esquiline. The Roman laws did not permit burials within the city walls, and for miles the tombs of the great lined the various roads leading into the country (Note 3). The laws regarded tombs as sacred, and were very stringent against violators of the same. Friends could claim the bodies of the worst malefactors. Joseph of Arimathea claimed and received from Pilate the body of Jesus.

The Christians abhorred the burning of the dead; they preferred the Jewish method, and to be buried as Jesus was. The body was washed and anointed, and prepared for the tomb, generally a niche, or *loculus*, as it was called, in the walls of the Catacombs. The arms were laid straight by the side, and a cloth was spread over the corpse, on which lime was sprinkled. Precious perfumes were placed in the grave and sometimes a few relics. A vial containing their blood is often found in the tombs of the martyrs. The opening was closed with slabs of terra cotta, or marble, and the inscription was painted, cut in the stone, or rudely scratched in the fresh mortar. The earliest stones generally bear the mere name, sometimes with *in pace*, or *vivas in Deo* (in peace; may you live in God), and a dove,

From an Ancient Sarcophagus.



From a Painting in the Catacombs.

or a fish (Note 1, n. 2), or an olive branch. Funerals were held by night, as the pagans objected to them by daylight, and were accompanied by singing and torches. The services of the Church were held over the body, and were repeated on the third, seventh and the thirtieth day after burial, and in a more solemn manner on the anniversary of the event.

The word cemetery, where the bodies of the faithful were laid awaiting the resurrection, is of Greek origin and means a resting or sleeping place. The derivation of the word Catacomb is unknown. Various meanings have been assigned to it. The name was originally applied to that locality of the Basilica of St. Sebastian, on the Appian Way, which was called in ancient documents *ad Catacumbas* (at the Catacombs). The word is now applied to all the subterranean cemeteries of the Christians. These exist all over Italy, Sicily, Malta, Egypt, and in some other countries.

The Roman Catacombs number more than forty, great and small, and doubtless there are many yet undiscovered. The galleries, if placed in line, would exceed the length of Italy, and served as burial places for the Christians for about three hundred and fifty years. They are not of pagan origin, nor disused sand pits, as was believed not long ago, but are the work of the Christians alone, though in times of persecution, or as affording a more secret entrance to the Catacombs, the sand pits were sometimes utilised. This is evident from the nature of the soil in which they were constructed, which is volcanic, and of three varieties. One is too hard for excavations and is adapted for building stone; another is too friable and is used for cement and mortar; the third is worthless for cement, and is easily excavated without danger.

The galleries of the sand pits were large and wide, sometimes sixteen feet in width, to facilitate the use of carts, in carrying away the sand. The walls of the vaults were elliptical, and the passages very crooked and without regular form.

On the other hand, the Christian galleries, excavated by fossors (Note 4), were quite straight, and were so narrow that seldom can two walk abreast; the sides were not curved, and the corners were at right angles, the roof straight or slightly arched. They never invaded other property, public or private, but when they reached the limits of the lot they ended abruptly in the tufa.

In the fourth century these galleries became inextricable labyrinths. Sometimes they were constructed with five levels or stages. The first was generally twenty to twenty-four feet beneath the surface of the soil; the second, sometimes the most ancient, about thirty-nine to forty-two feet beneath; the third about fifty-two feet; while the fourth and fifth were from sixty-five to eighty-two feet deep. At that depth the ground became too moist and wet to go lower.

The entrances to the Catacombs were not hidden, but situated on the public ways, and well known to the authorities as places of burial. For the first two centuries they were on private property, and were named after their proprietors, — some of them now unknown personages, — as Priscilla, Maximus, Novella, Gordiani, Cyriaca, Lucina, Pretextatus, Domitilla. For two centuries no legal objections were made to the use of these cemeteries for burial and the attending rites, nor did the pagan people make any trouble, with occasional exceptions. In 203, the cry was raised at Carthage, in Africa, that the cemeteries, which were open to the sky there and not Catacombs, should be forbidden to the Christians. In Rome in 257, Valerian issued an edict, for the first time forbidding Christians to assemble in the Catacombs because they were used for illegal meetings, and not for burial merely (Note 5).

There were burial colleges, or associations, among the pagans as well as with the Christians, and their rights were equally respected. But while Christianity was tolerated as a burial society, and its cemeteries rarely violated, as a religion

it was forbidden and unlawful. By this time the number of Christians had greatly increased, the cemeteries had become more numerous and larger, and in many cases were no longer private property, but had come into the possession of the Church, which was an unlawful body, and therefore they were confiscated. Yet soon the Christians were allowed to bury again. Even during the fiercest persecutions, Christian burials took place openly. The great St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the third century, and the virgin Roman martyr, St. Agnes, were carried to their graves by night, accompanied by long processions of the faithful of every class and of all ages, with the singing of psalms and hymns, so that it seemed rather a triumphal procession than a funeral cortege. He was buried in the cemetery of Macrobius Candidianus, the Procurator, and St. Agnes on her own property.

In 303, the last and fiercest persecution broke out under Diocletian, who at first had been favorable to the Christians (Note 6). He determined wholly to extirpate Christianity. He confiscated the cemeteries for the second time, the churches, and the goods, books, and the early records of the Roman Church were burnt and destroyed. These early records and the genuine Acts of the Martyrs, if they now existed, would be one of the most beautiful pages in Christian literature. Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, tells us that he knew of no genuine Acts of the Martyrs "in the archives of this Church, or in the libraries of Rome, except a few collected in one volume" (Note 7). The loss is irreparable. But the Christians still managed to bury their dead. The old entrances to the Catacombs were destroyed, and new and more secret ones constructed. The more important galleries and crypts were filled with earth and hidden. On private property burials could still be made.

In 311, under Maxentius, the churches and cemeteries were restored to the Christians, and in 313, the Emperor Constan-

tine, by the edict of Milan, put an end to the persecution. Then the Catacombs began to be frequented, the crypts of the martyrs were ornamented with marbles and mosaics, and the Bishop, Damasus, put up inscriptions in their honor.

At this day it is impossible to understand the great love and affection that the people had for the martyrs, those heroes of the persecutions. The Catacombs were thronged with the people that gathered at their anniversaries. The day on which they suffered martyrdom was not called the day of their death, but of their birth, *dies natalis*, or simply *natale*, *natalitia*. St. Jerome, in the fourth century, and in the fifth, Prudentius, the poet of the martyrs, speak of their visits to the Catacombs (Note 8).

The Christians soon began to bury their dead on the surface of the ground, and very few were laid in the Catacombs after 410. When the barbarians began to invade Italy, they greatly injured the places of burial, so the Popes began to remove the relics of the martyrs into the city for protection. Boniface IV, is said to have made removals in 609, and in 648 and 682, a few more were made. The ravages of the Lombards in 756 caused further removals by Paul I, and in 817, Pascal I made great translations.

After the ninth century, the Catacombs were almost forgotten, and the entrances became filled up and lost, till the awakening of a new interest in the sixteenth century. The only Catacombs open during the Middle Ages were those of St. Sebastian, St. Cyriaca at the church of St. Lawrence, St. Pancratius, and St. Valentine.

The number of martyrs in the various persecutions which took place during the space of two hundred and fifty years, God only knows. It must have been very great. The church records were destroyed and the names in most cases lost. In the Catacombs sometimes a large number were buried in a pit called a Polyandrum, *πολυάνδριον*, in heaps, when they had

been killed and burnt in a mass, and their names were unknown. The ancient Martyrologies speak of four groups buried near St. Cecilia in the Catacombs of St. Callistus — one of twenty-seven, one of forty-eight, one of eight hundred and eighty, and another of four thousand, burnt in heaps — *gregatim* (Note 9).

Under Valerian, in the third century, Crisantus and Daria were buried alive in a sand pit near the Catacomb of St. Priscilla. The next year a great company of the faithful had gathered, though this had been forbidden by the Emperor, to celebrate the anniversary at their tomb. They were discovered by the soldiers, and every avenue of escape having been closed, an enormous mass of stones and earth was precipitated upon them from an opening above, and they were buried alive. After the Peace of Constantine, the crypt was opened, and their skeletons, with the silver vessels used in the Divine Mysteries, were discovered. Pope Damasus was unwilling to touch the scene of their martyrdom, but made an opening in the wall, protected by a screen, with an inscription, so that the people might look upon the spectacle (Note 10). The Christians never retaliated upon their persecutors, nor did they appeal against their condemnation, which they might have done.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Romans tolerated all religions. No religion was allowed that was not sanctioned by law. The Emperor Tiberius enacted new laws against the Jewish and Egyptian religions. Claudius abolished the worship of the Druids. Some religions were tolerated, though unlawful, but the law might at any time be put into force. Nero is supposed to have published a new edict against the professors of the Christian faith — *non licet esse Christianos* — it is not lawful to be a Christian (Note 11). Some of the best Emperors persecuted the Christians because they felt obliged to enforce the laws. Some of the worst Emperors allowed

them to live in peace, because they did not care enough for the laws of their country to put them in force.

It is also a mistake to think that the early Christians were, as a class, from the lowest orders of the people. The first converts came from every class. Many were Jews, but the unconverted Jews were the worst enemies of the Christians, and were continually inciting persecutions. Many were from the humble classes of the Romans, but many also were from the highest families, as the Senator Pudens, Acilius Glabrio, many of the Flavian family, the Senator Apollonius, Pomponia Graecina wife of Plautius conqueror of Britain, the Consul Flavius Clemens a cousin of the Emperor Domitian and put to death by him, and his wife Flavia Domitilla, banished to the island of Pandataria, with a great many more whose names are now unknown (Note 12).

The Catacomb of St. Priscilla.

The Catacombs generally open to the public are those of St. Agnes, St. Callistus, St. Sebastian, and Domitilla. The others are inaccessible, or only visited by a permission from the proper authorities. On May 25, 1902, I made a visit to the Catacombs of St. Priscilla, probably the most ancient in Rome, situated about two miles beyond the present walls of the city, on the Via Salaria. St. Priscilla, a contemporary of the Apostles, was the mother of St. Pudens, and the grandmother of SS. Pudentiana and Praxedis. The Catacomb which bears her name consists of two extensive levels or stories, and differs from all others in its concise inscriptions,—commonly the name only,—often painted in vermilion or black, like those in Pompeii, many in Greek characters, and having for emblems generally the anchor, palm branch, dove, or fish.

Here was found the painting of the Blessed Virgin, veiled, with the Child Jesus in her arms, and at her side a Prophet,

perhaps Isaiah, pointing to a star, a work in the Pompeian style, and doubtless of the first half of the second century.

Here were buried the Saints Priscilla, Pudens, Pudentiana, Praxedis, Aquila, Prisca, some of them mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistles and St. Luke in the Acts, Manius Acilius Glabrio the Consul, who was martyred in 91 under Domitian, (Suetonius, *Domit.*, c. 10, p. 292), belonging to one of the highest Roman families and probably a relative of St. Priscilla, with members of his family.

Here were laid the martyrs Felix and Philip, two of the seven sons of St. Felicitas (Note 13), all of whom suffered

martyrdom with their mother in 162, under the philosopher Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Many of the early Bishops of Rome were buried here, as Marcellinus, who died in 304, when the Catacomb of St. Callistus had been confiscated by Diocletian; Marcellus and Sylvester, Bishops under the Emperor Constantine; Liberius, Siricius, Celestinus, Vigilius, and a multitude of people, the flower of early Christianity.

Here the Apostles Peter and Paul ministered, and Prof. Marucchi thinks he has discovered the "Font where Peter baptized," so often alluded to by the early visitors. The names of Peter in Greek and Latin, (a name exclusively Christian, and rare in other Catacombs,) and of Paul, are often found here, probably adopted by the faithful in memory of the great Apostles. The names of Phebe, Timothy and Onesimus also occur.

This Catacomb was frequented and held in the greatest veneration up to the ninth century. After the translation of the relics of the martyrs into the city, it soon fell into oblivion.

On May 22, 23, 24, in the church of St. Pudentiana, the oldest church in Rome, traditionally erected over the house where St. Pudens entertained the Apostles, a solemn Triduo was celebrated in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the body of the Martyr St. Filumena in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla. It was announced that on Sunday, May 25, Mass would be celebrated in that Catacomb at 7.30 and 10 A. M., and that the Litany, with a Procession, would be said at 5 P. M. I attended the Mass at 10. Let me say that the word Mass is merely the English for the Latin *missa*, which near the end of the fourth century began to be used as the name for the Eucharist, or Holy Communion (Note 14).

The modern entrance to the Catacomb, constructed by the Commission of Sacred Archaeology, is directly from the street. The passage inside, leading to the crypt, was ornamented with

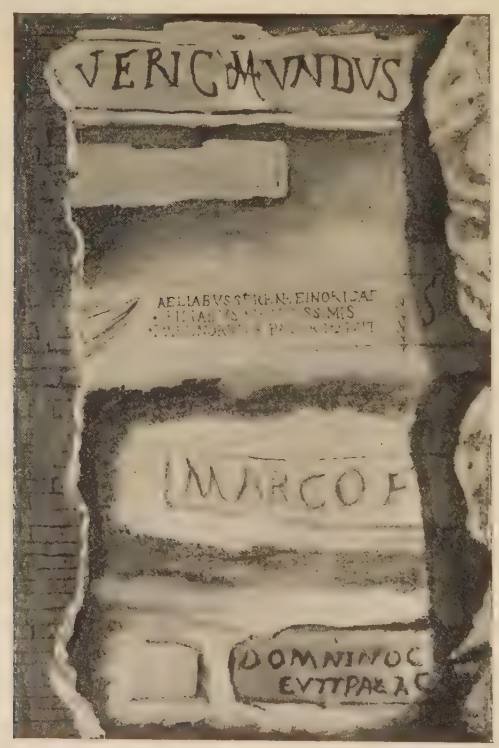
festoons of box, and, as were all the other galleries, illuminated with candles, so that you could easily find your way about. The crypt itself was probably constructed early in the second century, and must once have contained the tomb of a martyr and served for liturgical services. It is a sort of a vestibule to the celebrated Greek chapel, so called from its Greek inscriptions, and is remarkable for its paintings and fine stucco work. In the crypt was a recumbent marble statue of St. Filumena, an altar, with its lights and a cross in the Greek form instead of the crucifix.

The priests, in their vestments, stood behind the altar facing the people. A choir of young men, with a cabinet organ, were at one side in the Greek chapel. All about, in the various galleries, were the burial places of the early Christians, some of whom must have seen the Apostles. Most of these graves were open, and you could see the fragments of bone and occasionally a skull. In one place, not far away, brick walls had been anciently erected to support the roof, threatened by the many buildings once existing above the Catacomb. The Commission had made openings in it, in order that the closed tombs behind might be seen.

Seldom, or perhaps never since the ninth century, has such an event as this taken place here. The service was most interesting to me, and I seemed to be transported back to the times of the early Church, to the days of the martyrs. Had the thousands of early Christians, some of them martyrs, within hearing distance, — the tombs of many of whom had been undisturbed since they were first laid to rest with the prayers of the Church, some seventeen or eighteen centuries ago, — been restored to life on that Sunday morning, they would have heard the same Latin language, listened to the same Gospel and Epistle, perhaps, and the same or similar prayers of their times; the style of the music and the altar would have been about the same, the dress of the clergy substantially the same, and the

lighted passages would have been familiar to them. But the crumbling and ruined galleries, and the dress of the people about, would have seemed strange indeed.

Here, among others of the first half of the second century, was the name of the Martyr Vericundus, in vermilion paint and Pompeian characters, written as shown in the illustration:



Just below, on a marble slab, the letters cut and painted black, with a dove and palm branch at the ends, was the inscription placed by a father to his daughters, Serena and Norica. On the opposite side occurs the name of Peter, and that of an infant named Susanna, in vermilion.

Near by was the tomb of St. Filumena, with her name, and anchors and palm branches (Note 15). The terra cotta slab is in three sections, and the fossor put them up in the wrong

position, so that the tablet reads LUMENA PAX TE CVM FI as shown in the engraving.

It should read PAX TECUM FILUMENA, Peace be with you, Filumena.

All day long, a day never to be forgotten, we could wander through this ancient and venerable Catacomb at our leisure, and be carried back in thought to the earliest days of the Christian Church.

II.

The Catacomb of Domitilla. — The Founders of the Church in Rome.

THE Emperor Nero (Note 16) was the first persecutor of the Christians in Rome. The Apostles Peter and Paul, after having founded the Church there, were martyred in the year 67 (Note 17). June 29 is the day assigned to their memory in the Kalendar. St. Paul was buried on the Ostian way, in the cemetery of Lucina, and St. Peter was entombed at the Vatican, close to the scene of his crucifixion. Early in the fourth century, the Emperor Constantine (Note 18), who had embraced Christianity, erected basilicas, or churches, over their tombs, and the altar was placed over their bodies.

The Constantinian basilica of St. Paul was quite small. In 386 it was demolished by Valentinianus II, and a much larger one was planned. The work was continued by Theodosius and completed under Honorius. It was almost destroyed by fire in 1823, but has been rebuilt on the same lines. The work is not yet finished. It is the finest church in Rome. Constantine placed the body of St. Paul in a bronze sarcophagus, the marble covering of which still bears the ancient inscription

PAVLO
APOSTOLO MART.

Upon the bronze sarcophagus of St. Peter, Constantine and his mother, Helena, are said to have laid a cross of gold, and they also adorned the church with gold, silver, mosaics and precious marbles. In the course of time it became a great museum of relics, inscriptions, sculptures, and mosaics. But at length the old basilica had become so ruinous that it was necessary either to make extensive repairs, or to build a new one. It was decided, under Nicholas V, in 1452, to demolish the old church. The destruction was not commenced till 1506, under Julius II. The building was completed and dedicated under Urban VIII, in 1626. The barbarous destruction, in spite of protests, of what might have been preserved, was an irreparable loss to the world. The monuments were dispersed, the inscriptions and mosaics broken up, as were also the sarcophagi, or hidden in modern altars. The great architect Bramante has the reputation of being a great demolisher, as well as a great builder. The tomb of St. Peter was visible in the 9th century, but was probably buried when the Saracens made their incursion in 846. When the foundations of the new altar were being laid, owing to a disturbance of the soil, the tomb was exposed to view, and was seen by Pope Clement VIII, and the Cardinals Bellarmine, Antoniano, and Sfondrato, but the Pope feared to open it, and it was buried again under a mass of material.

Some have thought that because neither the Acts, nor St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, allude to the presence of St. Peter at Rome, he was never there. As a matter of fact he was not there when those documents were written, and that is why he is not mentioned in them. It is probable that he came to Rome about the year 42, in the second year of the Emperor Claudius, who, by an edict in 49, expelled the Jews, and St. Peter with them. He was not there in 58 or 61. He returned a few years before his death, about 62 or 63, as Origen (Note 19), a writer of the third century, informs us. That

he was in Rome at some period is a fact as well attested as any event in history. Every writer in antiquity, who has occasion to speak of this matter, testifies to it. We are certain that he must have died somewhere, and Rome, and Rome alone, has ever claimed the honor of being the place of his burial. To an archaeologist who looks upon things solely from monumental evidence, apart from religious prejudice, there can be no doubt at all as to the presence of St. Peter in Rome. But that he was a permanent resident of Rome for twenty-five years, is a mere tradition, though an early one, without any good foundation. See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, c. 3, pp. 123–126.

The Neronian persecution closed in 69, and for nearly thirty years under the succeeding Emperors, till it broke out again under Domitian (81–96), the last of the Flavian Emperors (Note 20), the Church had peace.

The Flavian Family.

Among the first noble Romans to embrace Christianity was the Flavian Family. With Vespasian, in 69, it came upon the throne of Augustus. The family originated in Reate, modern Rieti. Titus Flavius Petronius was its founder. The family monuments are at Vespasia, seven and a half miles distant. His son, Titus Flavius Sabinus, married Vespasia Polla, of Noricia, and they had two sons, Titus Flavius Sabinus, twice Prefect of Rome, once under Nero in 64, and again in 69 under Otho and Vitellius; and Titus Flavius Vespasianus, born in the year 9, the Emperor who captured Jerusalem in 70, built the Flavian amphitheatre, or Colosseum, at Rome, and died in 79 at Reate.

The name of the first of the family to become a Christian is not known, but as Titus Flavius Sabinus was twice Prefect of Rome, the first time under Nero, as mentioned above, he must

have known the Apostles and have learned all about the new religion. We are therefore led to think that he was the first to embrace Christianity. He was noted for his mildness and dislike of bloodshed, characteristics which were utterly unbecoming a Roman occupying his position. (Tacitus, *Hist.*, L. 3, c. 65, p. 538.) His gentleness increased with his years, so that the citizens were led to think that he had become an imbecile. He was slain by the soldiers of Vitellius in 69. His son, Titus Flavius Clemens, was Consul under Domitian, in 95, and died for the faith the same year. Like his father, he was accused of being a man of no ambition, and of "contemptible laziness" (*contemtissimae inertiae*, Suetonius, *Domit.*, c. 15, p. 296), names then bestowed upon men in high positions who were suspected of being Christians. His wife was Flavia Domitilla his cousin, a sister of the Emperor Domitian, and a niece of Vespasian (Note 23). She, as well as her husband, was a Christian, and was banished to the island of Pandataria, now Ventotene, opposite the Pontine Marshes, which was then as now, a convict station, for the crime of adopting Jewish customs, and atheism, by which terms Christianity was commonly designated by the pagans.

They had two sons whom their uncle, Domitian, at one time intended to make his heirs, and he changed their names to Vespasian and Domitian (Suetonius, *Domit.*, c. 15, p. 296), and entrusted their education to Quintilian, the orator, so that, had Providence so ordered, Christianity would have ascended the Roman throne in the Apostolic age. What would have been the result, we can only conjecture. It is supposed that not being able to induce them to renounce Christianity he put them to death.

Clemens had a sister Plautilla, a Christian, whose daughter, Flavia Domitilla, of the same name as her aunt, was banished to the island of Pontia, near Pandataria. In the fourth century pilgrims in crowds, as St. Jerome (Note 21) tells us, visi-

ted the place of her exile. Aurelia Petronilla was a Flavian, descended from Petronius. She is said to have been baptized by St. Peter, and in antiquity was called his spiritual daughter.

Catacomb of Domitilla.

At what is now called Tor Marancia, corrupted from the Latin *Amarantium*, on the right side of the Via Ardeatina, near the Appian way, is what was formerly the sepulchre of the Flavian family, now called the Catacomb of Domitilla, a vast necropolis. The modern entrance is at the Basilica of Nereus and Achilleus, on the Via delle Sette Chiese, which leads from the Via Ostiensis, close to the Church of St. Paul, to the Via Ardeatina. It is excavated mostly in two stories, though there are five in all. Some of the galleries are very lofty, the passages having been deepened at a later time, so that the oldest portion is at the top, and at some points they are so intricate that there is great danger of becoming lost in them. Our guide told us how, a few years ago, a school from Rome visited the place with their teachers. Several of the young men loitered to examine something, while the others went on. It was at a point where several ways met, and the place was shown us. When they started to overtake their companions, they took the wrong direction and were soon lost. Fortunately they came under a *lucenarium*, or shaft for light and air, and remained there. When the school had returned to Rome, they were missed and a party was sent in quest of them, and they were found about midnight.

The best time to see the Catacombs is in the morning, as at that time there are fewer visitors. When there are a number of parties, it being impossible to take many persons at a time, the guides have to hurry, or go over less ground. As most people know little or nothing about the Catacombs, but regard them as one of the things to be seen in Rome, they are just as

well satisfied as they would have been had they seen more. To understand early Christianity the Catacombs must be studied.

Close by the entrance, on the other side of the street, is the celebrated Catacomb of St. Callistus, the burial place of the Popes from Zephyrinus, 218, to Caius, 296, when the cemeteries were again confiscated under Diocletian. Callistus himself, who gives the name to the cemetery, was not buried there, but in the Catacomb of Calepodius, having been killed in a popular outbreak in the Trastevere in 222.

A little further away is the Catacomb of St. Sebastian, containing the Platonia (Note 17, Sect. 3), where the bodies of Saints Peter and Paul were hidden for a while for safety, about 258, when, under Valerian, the cemeteries were confiscated. How long they remained there is unknown, but some think to the times of Constantine. This Catacomb contained the bodies of many martyrs, and has always been held in great veneration. In the fourth century Pope Damasus erected here a basilica, dedicated to the Holy Apostles, which name was afterwards changed to that of St. Sebastian, a tribune of the first cohort of the Pretorian guards, a martyr under Diocletian about 290, who is buried here. In these underground galleries St. Philip Neri often passed whole nights, engaged in prayer and meditation, for ten years, from 1540–1550. The Jewish Catacombs near by are worth a visit (Note 22).

The Vestibule probably dates from about the time of Nero. On each side of the entrance are two later constructions, though very ancient. At the right is a vaulted chamber, containing a bench and two *cubicula*. The chamber on the left contains a well and a receptacle for water. This is such as we find in most pagan monuments, and they were devoted to reunions and funeral banquets. The paintings are in pagan style, — genii and flowers. This gives access to a *hypogeum* of special form. No *loculi*, or narrow niches for graves, were

originally there, but only two great niches on each side. There are remains of marble and terra cotta sarcophagi. Some of the bricks are as early as 123. The paintings are equal in elegance to those of the first century, and are Pompeian in style, in red color, — the vine, Daniel in the midst of lions, etc.

This was open to the view of all, on a public highway, and no effort was made to conceal anything, which goes to prove that the work was executed at a time of perfect peace, which the Christians enjoyed after Nero. The style of the paintings which would fall under the eyes of the profane were selected with great caution, and were such as would attract no special attention or suspicion.

The ancient Vestibule (see frontispiece), on the Via Ardeatina, near the modern entrance, was discovered in 1865. It once bore a simple inscription. A piece of the stone is broken off and lost, but the missing letters have been restored:

Two other inscriptions have been found, which bear the name of Flavia Domitilla as proprietor of the property (Note 23). The masonry indicates a high antiquity, and the bricks resemble those on the Via Latina.

Bosio, in 1593, was the first to visit this Catacomb after it had been deserted for so many centuries. He was surprised at its great size and the richness of its decorations, far beyond what he had seen elsewhere. Excavations began to be made in 1714. Visitors ignorant of its history flocked to see it, drawn by its beauty and paintings.

Up to comparatively modern times thousands of *loculi* had remained unopened, and though in a ruinous condition, the chapels and galleries were in a fair state of preservation. Then began the hunt for relics of the martyrs, inscriptions, beautiful pieces of stucco, and curiosities, without any regard

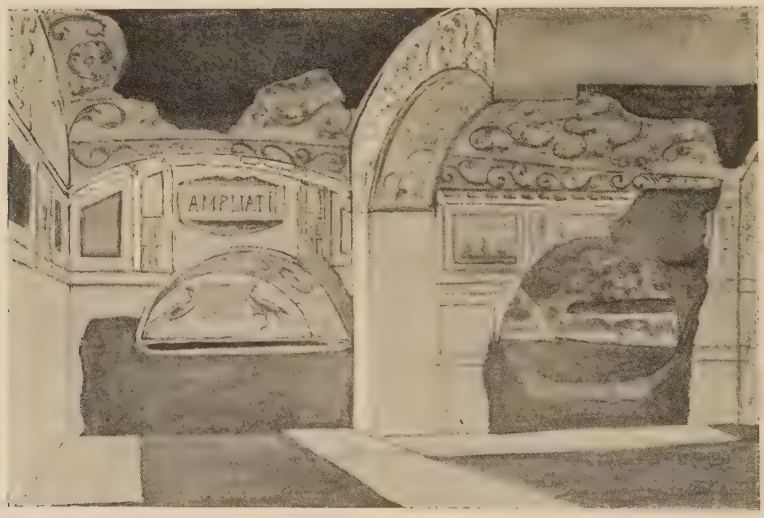
to scientific or historical research, and the result was worse than the ravages made by the Goths and Lombards.

For thirty years, Boldetti, "that pious Vandal," as he has been called, was engaged in this work. His sole object seems to have been to find relics of martyrs, and objects of value, which were carried away to enrich the museums of Europe or private collections, but many are now lost. The marble slabs of the *loculi* and other places, were carted away and broken up to repair the floors of churches, which in turn, when worn, gave place to new stones, and many fragments of them are now plastered on the fronts of churches, as we see in the case of the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere (Note 24). The beautiful stuccos and paintings were detached from the walls, most of them being broken and ruined in the process.

In our own times, the Catacomb of Cyriaca, at the church of St. Lawrence, has been almost totally destroyed to build the modern Campo Santo, the cemetery of the city of Rome. I remember many years ago of seeing its galleries and chapels, covered with unopened *loculi* and paintings, exposed on the side of the hill, which were being demolished by the workmen (Note 25). Some of the historic Catacombs on the Via Salaria are now the receptacles of sewerage for the modern houses. It may be said in apology for the earlier explorers that they considered the Catacombs as being in such a ruinous condition that they could never be of any importance, and therefore everything thought to be of value was removed without any regard to the means used, lest what little remained should be buried and lost.

We now leave the Vestibule and enter a rather steep gallery which leads to the interior. It is lined with chambers once covered with beautiful paintings or stucco figures of the finest quality, now badly broken and defaced by relic hunters, and smoked by the candles. Not far away was found in 1852 a large stairway, the deepest in the Catacombs, extending over

two stories. It seems a long distance, as we look down to the bottom, lighted by a *lucenarium*. Here is a chapel with very ancient paintings, — genii, flowers, architectural lines, with the Good Shepherd in the vault, which marks its Christian character. Some *loculi* have destroyed earlier paintings. The form of inscriptions and the character of the letters mark them as very ancient, and show that this was a primitive region of the cemetery. About the middle of these stairs we arrive at the first story. Here we meet a long gallery. On the right is a chapel with an apse, which was a place of reunion for the Christians. We turn to the left bordered with chapels excavated at a later period.



Tomb of Ampliatus.

We soon arrive at an ancient crypt, in the region constructed in the second century, strengthened, as were the adjoining galleries, by brick work in the fourth century, which is reached by special stairs, discovered in 1870. Over the *arcosolium* is this inscription on marble, in large letters of classic type,

found fallen from its place and in the earth, but now in its original position :

AMPLIATI.

This is the tomb of Ampliatus, whom St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans 16: 8, salutes as most dear to him in the Lord. That is his Latin name ; so the Vulgate and the Douay Version have it. His Greek name was Amplias, as in King James's Version. In the lunette of the *arcosolium* is a later inscription by Aurelius Ampliatus, perhaps a son, to Aurelia Bonifatia, his wife, who lived twenty-five years, two months, four days and two hours. The day of death and the age of a person, frequently in full, are often given, that the date of the annual commemoration might be known, but the year almost never. That seems to have been of no importance.

Ampliatus was a slave, but in those times race and color had nothing to do with slavery. When a city was captured, or a country overrun, the inhabitants were often sold into slavery, without regard to their social condition. Roman citizens were not designated by one name, as were slaves. They were not content with less than three. His intimate relation with the Apostle must be the reason why Ampliatus was buried in so noble a chapel. He must been a person of importance. The decorations here are among the most beautiful to be found in the Catacombs, being those of the Imperial age, such as we see in the old Roman houses on the Palatine. De Rossi in an article in the *Bullettino* of 1881, has illustrations of the chamber and of the inscription, which he says is the most beautiful in the Catacombs.

Bronze Medallion of Saints Peter and Paul.

In the portion dating from the third century are many beautiful paintings. In a scene of the Epiphany, the Virgin Mary sits with the infant Jesus on her knees, while the Magi, or

wise men, four in number, two on each side, present their gifts. In this region Boldetti found the precious medallion, now in the Vatican, containing the busts of the Apostles, probably a work of the second century, the most ancient type of them known. St. Peter has short and crisp hair, a short curling beard, and prominent features; St. Paul has small features, rather thin face, is bald, and has a thick and rather long beard (Note 26).

The region of the fourth century has numerous paintings and the tombs of many martyrs under Diocletian, 303–306, when a large number of Christians suffered for the faith. Near here Pope Damasus, who died in 384, aged about 80, erected above ground a basilica, with a crypt beneath, as a burial place for his mother, Laurentia, his sister, Irene, who lived less than twenty years, and for himself. It was probably

on the left side of the Via Ardeatina near the Catacomb of St. Callistus, for in a metrical epitaph which he placed in the crypt of the Popes, he modestly tells us that "Here, I, Damasus, confess that I wished to place my members, but I feared to disturb the holy ashes of the saints" (Note 27). The exact spot has not yet been identified. It seems sad that the resting place of him who did so much to perpetuate the memory of others, and to beautify the tombs of the Martyrs, should be unknown (Note 28). We have the metrical epitaphs, composed by him, of his mother (Note 29) in four lines, recently found, of his sister in fifteen, and his own in six. His is so modest that I will give a translation:

"He Who walked upon the fierce waves of the sea and stilled them by His command; Who makes the plant to grow from the mouldering seed; Who could loose the bonds of death from Lazarus after the darkness of three days, and restore a brother to life and to his sister Mary, He, I believe, will make Damasus to rise again from his ashes." (Note 30.)

He says nothing of his high position in the Church, or of his earthly honors, but looked only for the "life everlasting," to use the words of the Creed which we still use, as did he then, sure of the resurrection, certain that nothing was impossible for Him.

The Subterranean Basilica of Saints Nereus and Achilleus.

In making excavations in 1854, in the second story, traces of a large basilica were found, but owing to difficulties with the proprietor of the land above, the work was suspended for some twenty years. Under a new proprietor, himself a patron of the work, excavations were begun in November, 1873. It proved to be the basilica of Nereus and Achilleus, erected between 391 and 395, under Pope Siricius, in one of the oldest

regions, near the ancient vestibule. The walls above ground were rebuilt and roofed; the interior was left in the ruinous condition in which it was found, but we can easily understand the arrangement of a church in the fourth century. It is about one hundred feet long, upwards of sixty in width and about twenty-three feet in height. It is thought that the great earthquake of 897 overthrew it.

It was here that Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome (590–604), delivered his Homily on the Gospel of St. John, 4: 46–53. It was at a time of great distress in the Roman world. Plagues, famine, inundations, desolations, and the inroads of the Longobards, or Lombards, are filling the world with such bitterness that, as he tells us, the world that sometimes holds us with its pleasures, now drives us to God. This sermon was delivered "standing at the tomb of these saints who despised the world." (Note 31.)

On one of the columns is a rude sculpture of Achilleus, with his name, attacked and slain by a soldier with a sword. A metrical epitaph of nine lines by Damasus was placed over the tomb of these martyrs, fragments of which were found near the altar (Note 32). The entire text has been preserved in a MS. Almost nothing is now known of them, except what is contained in the few lines of Damasus.

The archives of the Roman Church were destroyed under Diocletian, and the Acts of the Martyrs, as they have come down to us, are mostly of the fifth and sixth centuries, or a little later, with many interpolations, and are not authentic. They form a kind of religious novel, containing truth and fiction (Note 33). These martyrs were probably Pretorian soldiers, who, having fled from Rome, were with Domitilla, daughter of Plautilla, in the island of Pontia, and were martyred under Domitian, at Terracina near by. They are said to have been converted and baptized under the Apostles, and are annually commemorated by the Church on the 12th of

Ruins of the Basilica of Saints Nereus and Achilleus.

May. They must have been important persons. St. Paul mentions Nereus and his sister in his Epistle to the Romans 16: 15. He labored much with the Pretorian soldiers. Thus the story of the Catacombs confirms the testimony of the Epistle, and that in turn confirms Ecclesiastical tradition. Doubtless many more of St. Paul's companions were buried here.

The tomb of Petronilla, one of the Flavian family and the spiritual daughter of St. Peter, by whom she is said to have been baptized, is just back of the basilica. A painting of Veneranda and Petronilla, martyr, is on the walls. She did not

really die a martyr, but those who suffered for the faith were sometimes styled such. In 757 her sarcophagus was removed to St. Peter's church by Paul I. It then bore the inscription:

AVRELIAE PETRONILLAE FILIAE DVLCISSIMAE.

The chapel (Note 34) became that of the kings of France. Her monument and sarcophagus were barbarously broken up and used for new work when the present church was built.

One may ask why this basilica, like that of St. Agnes, St. Hermes on the Via Salaria Antiqua, St. Lawrence and some others, was built so deep under ground in the second story of the Catacomb, at such an expense of excavation, instead of on the surface. The reason is this: In the early Roman Church, they never presumed, or dared, to remove the bodies of the martyrs, except when absolutely necessary for safety, to place them under an altar; but the church and altar were erected over them. In some cases, owing to local circumstances, the body was not under the altar at all, but elsewhere, as in the case of the church of St. Pancratius, the boy martyr of twelve years, under Diocletian, where the tomb was situated obliquely to the nave (Note 35). The tomb under the altar in St. Peter's is not quite in the centre of the church, but a little to the left, or south, nearer to the circus of Nero. The bodies of Saints John and Paul, martyrs under Julian the Apostate (360–363), were buried in their own house, near the place of their decapitation, and remained there after a church had been built. The room is still to be seen. In 1588 the bodies were taken from the tomb to the church above, and in 1677 placed under the high altar, in a porphyry urn. This is the first city church which contained the bodies of martyrs.

In 519, when Justinian, afterward Emperor of the East, sent to Rome for relics of the Apostles to be placed in a church at Constantinople which he had built in their honor, Pope Hormisdas refused the request, as being contrary to the

usage of the Roman Church (Note 36). Gregory the Great refused a request of Constantina, Empress of the East, for the heads of Peter and Paul (Note 37). In the ninth century, owing to the ravages of the Lombards, the custom of removing the bodies of the martyrs into the city began in earnest. See *Lib. Pontificalis, Paschalis*, c. 100, n. 9, p. 54, T. 2.

Exactly when the bodies of Nereus and Achilleus were removed and placed in a church dedicated to them in the city, near the Baths of Caracalla, is not known, but probably about 757. The church was doubtless built before that time. In the thirteenth century it had become a ruin and the whole quarter a desert. Gregory IX then transferred the bodies to the church of St. Hadrian in the Forum. At the close of the sixteenth century Cardinal Baronius, having restored the church, brought them back in great triumph, with a procession through the Forum, the Arches of Titus and Constantine, and placed inscriptions in honor of the event. See Lais, *Memorie del Titolo di Fasciola*, c. 8, pp. 56–62.

May 12, 1905, with a friend, I was present at the annual festival in this ancient church. It is of basilica form and has a handsome marble floor in *Opus Alexandrinum*, which was carpeted with branches of box for the occasion. The altar is small, like the ancient ones and those of the Greek Church (Note 38). There is a canopy over it. Above the tribune are fragments of mosaic of the time of Leo III (795–816), representing the Transfiguration. The walls are decorated with paintings of the school of Pomarancio, like those at S. Stefano Rotondo, representing the Martyrdoms of the Apostles and of Saints Nereus and Achilleus.

The service was plain and simple, but very interesting. The great event was on Sunday, May 14, in the cemeterial basilica at the Catacomb, which was decorated with festoons of box. At 10 A. M., solemn Mass was sung by the College of the *Cultores Martyrum*. The music was according to the use of

Solesmes. We heard the same old sermon which was delivered some 1300 years ago by Gregory the Great, in this very place. It is not often that one has such an opportunity. After the service, Professor Marucchi, the great authority on sacred archaeology, delivered an address suited to the occasion, in French. After an address by the same in Italian at 5:30 P. M., the clergy and people walked through the Catacombs in procession, with candles, singing the Litany and Te Deum, just as they did in ages long passed. The galleries were illuminated, and during the whole day we were allowed to go about as we pleased. Cardinal Merry del Val, the papal Secretary of State, and other great personages, were present. I was introduced to Professor Marucchi, who on a later occasion took me to visit the great discoveries he had made in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla.

It struck me as a wonderful thing that every year, on their anniversary, May 12, these martyrs, of whom we know almost nothing except their names, are still commemorated by the Church; that on June 29, the Apostles Peter and Paul are brought to remembrance by the Catholic Church throughout the whole world, and that in Rome splendid churches cover their bodies, and that thousands of pilgrims from all over the earth flock here to venerate their memories, while Nero and Domitian, the all-powerful rulers of their day, who doomed them and their followers to death, have no monuments, their ashes are scattered and, though still remembered, they are only remembered for the evil they did.

The Emperor Hadrian, that great builder of splendid temples in Rome, Athens, and elsewhere, and whose villa near Tivoli was a city and world in itself, in the year 136 erected his massive tomb, now the Castle Sant' Angelo, a wonderful piece of work decorated with precious marbles and statuary, very near the humble grave of St. Peter, the despised Jew. Little did he imagine that the successors of that Apostle would

some day connect it with the Vatican by a covered way and use it as a place of refuge in perilous times; that his beautiful sarcophagus (Note 39) and those of his successors, here buried, would be cast out and their ashes thrown to the winds; that the building, stripped of its marbles, would be used as a military fortress and a museum, and that the bronze statue of the Archangel Michael would crown the summit.

On All Saints' Day, November 1, every year, all the faithful departed, known or unknown, great or lowly, are commemorated. The Church forgets or overlooks no one, but all are remembered in her offices. During the terrible persecutions of Diocletian, Felix, a priest, was being led to martyrdom. An unknown person joined the company, declaring that he was a Christian. He was put to death with the priest, and was buried with him in the same tomb in the Catacomb of Commodilla. August 30 is their natal day in the Roman Kalendar. As the Christians were in ignorance of his name, they gave him that of Adauctus, or, as sometimes found, Adjutus, Adjunctus, which may be appropriately, if not quite literally, translated One-more. Pope Damasus commemorated this event by a metrical inscription of seven lines (Note 40). A picture of the martyr in the Catacomb has under it this inscription —"His name God knows."

NOMĒ D̄S SCET.
(Nomen Deus Scit).

NOTES

NOTE 1, PAGES 9, 10, 13.

THE inscriptions were cut in the marble, painted in red or black on the covering of the *loculi*, or rudely scratched on the fresh mortar; some can easily be read, others can hardly be deciphered, and the sense has to be guessed at. We find many grammatical errors, and by the fourth century the language spoken by the common people was quite different from the classical Latin. They confounded the conjugations and tenses of verbs, and were ignorant of the cases governed by prepositions, the *h* was sometimes omitted, as *ic* for *hic*, and sometimes used where it should not be. There were Cockneys then, even in classical times, as we learn from Catullus. They used *b* and *v* interchangably, as *bibas* for *vivas*, *venemerente* instead of *benemerente*. We have *cesquit* for *requiescit*, *quixit* for *qui vixit*, *toti tres*, like the modern Italian, for *tres*, *tata* for *pater*. St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, tells us that in his sermons he often used ungrammatical expressions in order that the ignorant might understand him.

N. 1. Dates were not regarded as of much importance in ancient times, and it is difficult to obtain them with accuracy.

Events are dated from the year of the founding of Rome, — and we are not sure when that was, — or in a certain year of the reign of some king or emperor, or during a certain consulship. The Christian era, the date of the Incarnation, was fixed in the 753d year of Rome by Dionysius Exiguus, who died in 540, but was not publicly used till the eighth century. Sometimes reference is made to some astronomical event, as an eclipse, and then we can be sure. Out of some 15,000 Christian inscriptions published by De Rossi, only about 1,500 bear the Consular date. Of the first century we have only one, *anno* 71; two of the second century, *annis* 107, 111; twenty-four of the third century; five hundred of the fourth and fifth centuries, and the others are later.

N. 2. Professions and trades of all kinds are recorded in the inscriptions, and often the tools and instruments of trades and occupations, as saws, rules, awls, nippers, hammers, picks, steelyards, knives, combs, etc., are cut or sketched on the coverings of the graves. See Marucchi, *Eléments*, T. 1, *Notions*, l. 3, c. 6, pp. 212–214.

A fish made of gold, silver, bronze, or other substance, was used as a sacred emblem, and hung about the neck, to denote that the wearer was a Christian, just as members of secret societies now wear pins and badges to signify their connection with them. A pagan would suspect nothing, while a Christian would at once recognize a fellow Christian. The Greek word for fish is *ἰχθύς*. The letters stand for Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ; in English, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. I once found an old bronze fish, about an inch in length, in Syria beyond the river Jordan.

N. 3. We have expressions showing the belief in the Divinity of Christ, as *in Deo Domino Christo*, in God the Lord Christ; *in Deo Christo*, in Christ Who is God.

N. 4. Expressions denoting a belief in a future life are very common; *in Deo*, in God; *in Christo*, in Christ; *in pace*, in peace; *vivas in Deo*, may you live in God; *in refrigerio*, in refreshment.

N. 5. We sometimes find expressions and wishes for the welfare and repose of the departed: *Deus tibi refrigeret*, may God refresh thee; *spiritum tuum Deus refrigeret*, may God refresh thy spirit; *pax tibi cum sanctis*, peace to thee with the saints; and requests that the souls in Paradise may remember their friends on earth: *et in orationis* [orationibus] *tuis roges pro nobis quia scimus te in Christo*, and in thy prayers, pray for us, for we know that thou art in Christ; *ispiritus tuus bene requiescat in Deo, petas pro sorore tuo*, may thy spirit rest well in God, pray for thy sister; *Vincentia in Christo petas pro Phoebo et pro Virginio ejus*, Vincentia in Christ pray for Phoebus and his Virginius; *Attice spiritus tus* [tuus] *in bono ora pro parentibus tuis*, Atticus thy spirit is in good, pray for thy parents; *Sabbati dulcis anima pete et roga pro fratribus et sodales tuos*, sweet soul of Sabbatus, pray and ask for thy brothers and companions. See Marucchi, *Eléments*, Tom. 1, *Notions*, l. 3, c. 4, pp. 180–197.

N. 6. Some of the inscriptions are rather curious: *Locus Aphrodisaes, cum Deus permiserit*, the burial place of Aphrodisaes when God shall allow it; *Caelius hic dormit et Decria quando Deus boluerit*, Caelius sleeps here, and Decria when God wills; *Laurentia melis dulcior quiesce in*, Laurentia sweeter than honey, may you rest in [peace]; *Cecilius maritus Ceciliae Placidianae conjugi optime memorie cum qua vixi annis x bene sene* [sine] *ulla querella*, the husband Cecilius to his wife Cecilia Placidiana, of most precious memory, with whom I lived well ten years without any quarrel.

There is a celebrated inscription of Simplicius, *anno* 364, so precise that the date can be found: *Natus . . . ora noctis iiii viii idus Majas die Saturnis luna vicessima signo Capiornom* [Capricorni], He was born the fourth hour of the night, the eighth of May, day of Saturn, the twentieth day of the Moon, in the sign of Capricorn.

Adjuro vos omnes Christiani per Do et per tremend. die judicii ut hunc sepulcrum violari nunquam permittatis sed conservetur usque ad finem mundi ut possim sine impedimento in vita redire cum venerit qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos.

(I adjure all you Christians, by God and the dreadful day of Judgment, that you never allow this sepulchre to be violated, but that it be preserved even to the end of the world, that I may be able without hinderance to return to life, when He shall come Who shall judge the living and the dead.) Marucchi, *Eléments*, T. 1, *Notions*, l. 3, c. 2, pp. 61, 62.

De bia noba

Pollecla que ordeu [hordeum] bendet in bia noba. (From the New Way. Pollecla who sold barley in the New Way.) Marucchi, *Eléments*, T. 2, *les Catacombs*, l. 2, n. 2, p. 133.

NOTE 2, PAGE 10.

The story of Jonah was very popular in the Catacombs. The sea monster is always represented as one of those dragons so common to Roman art.

NOTE 3, PAGE 10.

The monuments on the Appian Way are said to have extended some sixteen miles, one after another, with no intermediate space and often in a double file, on each side. At the corners

of the lots were *cippi*, or boundary stones, on which, or on the monument itself, was cut the size of the lot, as *In fronte p. xv ; In agro p. xii*, In front, or on the road, fifteen feet; in the field, or rear, twelve feet. It was sometimes indicated who were to be buried there. The lots were occasionally quite large; that of Lucina, the nucleus of the Catacomb of St. Callistus, was one hundred feet *in fronte* by two hundred and thirty *in agro*. One lot was two thousand by five hundred feet. Hardly a vestige of these monuments now remain.

NOTE 4, PAGE 14.

The Fossors [*Fossores*] constituted a lower grade in the Clergy, and are so designated by St. Jerome; they ranked with the door-keepers. Their duty was to excavate in the Catacombs and bury the dead. *Ep.* 1, *ad Innocent.*, c. 12, col. 330, P. L. 22.

NOTE 5, PAGE 14.

Tertullian: — *Arae non sint*, Let them have no burying grounds. *Ad Scap.*, c. 3, p. 249, Pars 1.

Et adjecit [Paternus Proconsul]: Preceperunt etiam, ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant, nec coemeteria ingrediantur. Si quis itaque hoc tam salubre praeceptum non observaverit, capite plectetur.

(And the Proconsul Paternus added: The Emperors have also ordered that assemblies shall not be held in any place, nor shall the cemeteries be entered. If therefore any one observe not this very reasonable order, he shall be punished with death.) *Acta Proconsul. S. Cyp.*, c. 1, col. 1500, P. L. 3.

The body of St. Cyprian was buried ad areas Macrobii Candidiani procuratoris. *Ibid.*, c. 5, col. 1505, P. L. 3.

NOTE 6, PAGE 15.

The persecution under Diocletian was so fierce that those times were called the Era of the Martyrs, *Æra Martyrum*. It dated from Aug. 29, 284. Every act of worship was forbidden to the Christians under penalty of death. At first the Bishops and Clergy were marked for martyrdom. The churches were demolished, the ecclesiastical archives and sacred books were burnt. Those who gave them up from fear were called *traditores*, traitors, and the times were afterwards called *Dies traditionis*. In 303 the persecution became hotter. Everywhere, among the merchants, the taverns, at the fountains, altars were placed, and no one could buy anything or get water without first burning incense to an idol, and those who fell were called *thurificati*, and the times were called *dies thurificationis*. It is no wonder that many apostatized. Many who were banished to the mines and quarries were maimed for life. Their right eyes were gouged out, or the cords of their left leg were cut : they were starved and cruelly beaten. The number of sufferers was so great that no account of them could be kept. See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, l. 8, c. 12, col. 773, P. G. 20.

NOTE 7, PAGE 15.

Gregory the Great: Praeter illa enim quae in ejusdem Eusebii libris de gestis sanctorum martyrum continentur, nulla in archivo hujus ecclesiae, vel in Romanae urbis bibliothecis esse cognovi, nisi pauca quaedam in unius Codicis volumine collecta.

(For with the exception of what is contained in the books of Eusebius concerning the acts of the holy Martyrs, I know of nothing in the archives of this Church, or in the libraries of the city of Rome, unless it be a few contained in one volume.) *Ep.* 29, *ad Eulog.*, col. 930, 931, P. L. 77.

That there were in Rome at that time so few Acts of the Martyrs seems strange.

NOTE 8, PAGE 16.

St. Jerome: Dum essem Romae puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum ceteris ejusdem aetatis et propositi, diebus Dominicis, sepulcra apostolorum et martyrum circuire; crebroque cryptas ingredi quae in terrarum profundo defossae ex utraque parte ingredientium per parietes habent corpora sepultorum, et ita obscura sunt omnia, ut propemodum illud propheticum compleatur: descendant ad infernum viventes; et raro desuper lumen admissum horrorem temperet tenebrarum; ut non tam fenestram quam foramen demissi luminis putes.

(When I was a boy at Rome, and was being educated in liberal studies, it was my custom with others of the same age and tastes, to visit on the Lord's day, the tombs of the Apostles and the Martyrs, and often to go into the crypts, which, dug deeply in the earth on both sides as you enter, contain the bodies of those buried; and everything is so obscure that almost is fulfilled that [saying] of the Prophet: 'Let them go down to hell alive; [*Ps.* 55: 15, *Ps.* 54: 16, *Vulg.*].' And only occasionally the light admitted from above tempers the horror of the darkness, so that you may think that it is not so much a window as a ray of admitted light.) *In Ezech.*, 12, l. 12, c. 40, col. 375, P. L. 25.

Prudentius:

Haud procul extremo culta ad pomoeria vallo
Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foreis.
Hujus in occultum gradibus via prona reflexis
Ire per anfractus, luce latente docet.
Primas namque fores summotenus intrat hiatu,
Illustratque dies limina vestibuli.

Inde, ubi progressu facili nigrescere visa est
Nox obscura, loci per specus ambiguum,
Occurrunt caesis immissa foramina tectis
Quae jaciunt claros antra super radios.
Quamlibet ancipites texant hinc inde recessus
Arcta sub umbrosis atria porticibus:
Attamen excisi subter cava viscera montis
Crebra terebrato fornice lux penetrat.
Sic datur absentis per subterranea solis
Cernere fulgorem luminibusque frui.
Talibus Hippoliti corpus mandatur opertis,
Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo.
Illa sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque
Custos fida sui martyris apposita,
Servat ad aeterni spem judicis ossa sepulcro,
Pascit item sanctis Tibricolas dapibus.
Mira loci pietas, et prompta precantibus ara
Spes hominum placida prosperitate juvat.
Hic corruptelis animique et corporis aeger
Oravi quoties stratus, opem merui.
Quod laetor reditu, quod te, venerande sacerdos,
Complecti licitum est, scribo quod haec eadem,
Hippolito scio me debere: Deus cui Christus
Posse dedit, quod quis postulet, annuere.
Ipsa, illas animae exuvias quae continet intus,
Ædicula, argento fulgurat ex solido.
Praefixit tabulas dives manus aequore laevi
Candentes, recavum quale nitet speculum:
Nec Pariis contenta aditus obducere saxis,
Addidit ornando clara talenta operi.

(Not far from the walls of the city, in a cultivated orchard at the end of the valley, lies a crypt sunk in a hidden pit.

Into its secret depths a steep path with winding steps directs our course, the light being shut out by the curves. For the light of day from the outside comes in by an opening at the top, and makes visible the threshold of the vestibule. Then, when upon a short advance, the obscurity of the place seems to grow black through the tortuous cavern, there are openings made in the pierced roof, which admit bright rays into the cavern. Although the uncertain recesses lead here and there through the narrow passages by darksome galleries, yet under the hollow bowels of the excavated mountain light frequently penetrates into the darkened arch. Thus it is possible to see through the subterranean passages the brightness of the absent sun and to enjoy its light. To such secret places is the body of Hippolytus committed, where there is an altar near by, dedicated to God. That altar-slab, giver of the sacrament and also the faithful keeper of the martyr buried near, preserves his bones in the sepulchre, in expectation of the eternal Judge; and it feeds the dwellers on the Tiber with holy food. The wondrous sanctity of the place, and the altar ready for those that pray, assist the hopes of men with serene confidence. Here when sick in soul and body, I have often prayed prostrated, and have obtained relief. O venerable priest! I will write that I rejoice to return, that it is permitted to embrace thee, that I owe all these things to Hippolytus, to whom Christ our God has given power to grant whatever any one asks. That little shrine which contains within it the relics of his soul [his body], is bright with solid silver. Skillful hands have put up tablets glistening with a level surface, which shines as a concave mirror. Not content with covering the entrance with Parian marble, they have added much wealth in ornamenting the work.) *Peristeph. Hym.* 11, lin. 153–189, col. 547–550, P. L. 60.

Prudentius then describes the great throngs of people from all over Italy who visited the Catacombs in the fifth century.

NOTE 9, PAGE 17.

Lactantius: Omnis sexus et aetatis homines ad exustionem rapti; nec singuli quoniam tanta erat multitudo, sed gregatim circumdato igni ambiebantur.

(People of both sexes and of all ages, were seized to be burnt, not one by one, because the multitude was too great, but in a mass they were enclosed in the surrounding fire.) *De Mort. Persec.*, c. 15, p. 379, T. 2.

NOTE 10, PAGE 17.

Crisantus and Daria were martyred Oct. 25, 257, in one of the sand pits connected with the Catacomb of Thrason, on the Via Salaria Nova. Daria is said to have been a Vestal virgin, and the penalty for renouncing the religious vows of that order was to be buried alive. Gregory of Tours gives us an account of their tomb: Veruntamen pariete illo qui est in medio positus, fenestram structor patefactam relinquit, ut ad contemplanda sanctorum corpora aditus aspiciendi patesceret. (Furthermore the builder left a window in the middle of the wall, in order that there might be an opening for one to look in and contemplate the relics of the Saints.) *De Gloria Mart.*, l. 1, c. 38, col. 739, P. L. 71.

In the inscription placed here by Damasus, we read: Nomina nec numerum potuit retinere vetustas. (Antiquity could retain neither the names nor the number.) Marucchi, *Eléments*, Tom. 1, *Notions*, l. 3, c. 9, n. 1, p. 234.

The tomb was greatly injured during the invasion of the Goths, and after their retreat in 538 it was repaired at "the expense of a poor man," *pauperis ex censu*, as we read. *Op. Damas.*, col. 402, P. L. 13. This Catacomb is one of the most celebrated in Rome, and the richest perhaps in the number of martyrs placed there during the persecutions of Valerian

and Diocletian. The anniversary of Crisantus and Daria is October 25, and their bodies now repose in the church of the Holy Apostles, in the city of Rome.

NOTE 11, PAGE 17.

Tertullian: *Non licet esse vos.* It is not lawful for you Christians to exist. *Apol.*, c. 4, p. 60, Pars 1; *Institutum Neronianum*, The Neronian ordinance. *Ad Nationes*, l. 1, c. 7, p. 136, Pars 1.

NOTE 12, PAGE 18.

The ancients speak of a great friendship existing between L. Anneus Seneca, the philosopher, and St. Paul. We have apocryphal epistles said to have been written by them. Some have regarded this acquaintance as a mere tradition, but the discovery of an inscription to Marcus Anneus Paulus Petrus, son of Marcus Anneus Paulus, found at Ostia in 1867, proves that such a friendship must have existed.

D. M.
M. ANNEO
PAVLO PETRO,
M. ANNEVS PAVLVS
FILIO CARISSIMO

Armellini, *Lezioni*, Pt. 5, c. 4, p. 499.

Tertullian says of him: *Seneca saepe noster*, Seneca often ours,—that is, almost a Christian. *De Anima*, c. 20, p. 196, Pars 2. He was born in Spain, and coming to Rome held high offices under Claudius, but was banished to Corsica in 41, owing to the machinations of the Emperor's

wicked wife Messalina, who was afterwards killed by her husband. His second wife, Agrippina, induced him to recall Seneca, and she made him the master of her son Nero. He became very wealthy. Nero accused him, without reason, of being engaged in the conspiracy of Piso, and he was ordered to take his own life by bleeding, in accordance with the custom of the time, which he did like a philosopher.

St. Paul was judged at Antioch by the Proconsul Marcus Anneus Gallio, a brother of Seneca, and at Rome he was in charge of Afrianus Burro, Prefect of the praetorium, an intimate friend of Seneca who was then *consul suffectus*.

Tertullian: Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum, sola vobis relinquimus templa.

(We are but of yesterday and we have filled everything you have, cities, islands, strong-holds, towns, councils, the camps themselves, tribes, decuries, the palace, the senate, and the forum; we leave you only the temples.) *Apol.*, c. 37, p. 108, Pars 1.

Tacitus calls the Christians a "great multitude," *multitudo ingens*. *Annales*, l. 15, c. 44, p. 360.

NOTE 13, PAGE 19.

St. Felicitas and her seven sons, Januarius, Felix, Philippus, Silanus, Martialis, Vitalis, and Alexander, were martyred July 10, 162, and buried in different Catacombs. The event was such a notable one that this date was often called *Dies martyrum*,— the day of the martyrs. It is so called in an inscription. When she and her sons had been summoned before the judge, he said to her, "Unfortunate one, if it is sweet for you

to die, at least allow your children to live." She replied, addressing her sons, "Look to heaven, O my children, where Christ awaits you with His saints; fight for your souls, and show yourselves faithful to Him."

Damasus placed an inscription of three lines on her sepulchre, which he had beautifully restored:

> Discite quid meriti praestet pro rege feriri
> Femina non timuit gladium, cum natis obivit
> Confessa Christum meruit per saecula nomen.

"Learn what a merit it is to be slain for the King.
A woman feared not the sword; she died with her children;
By confessing Christ she gained an everlasting name."

Armellini, *Antichi Cimiteri*, Pt. 3, c. 6, p. 203.

NOTE 14, PAGE 20.

St. Ambrose: Missam facere coepi. *Ep.* 20, n. 4, col. 995, P. L. 16.

NOTE 15, PAGE 23.

There is no proof that Filumena was a martyr. Her name is not in any record, nor is it known when she died. Her grave was found unopened May 25, 1802. The inscription was decorated with palms and anchors, and a broken glass vase was attached to it, — on the outside probably, for had it been inside it would have been safe from danger. In the bottom of the glass was a dried substance which looked like blood. As the science of archaeology was then in its infancy, it was assumed that she must have been a martyr. Her relics were taken to Mugnano in 1805, and are said to have wrought mir-

acles. It seems impossible that the error of the Fossor in arranging the inscription, if it was one, in the case of a martyr, should not have been corrected at once. It would have required only a few minutes. The Fossors were not an ignorant class, but an order in the Clergy, and they had charge of burials. Very likely the covering was taken from some other place, a common practice in those times, and was purposely placed in a wrong position, to show that it did not originally belong to the person there buried. A controversy has recently arisen on this subject. See Marucchi, *Studio Archeol. sulla celebre inscrizione di Filumena*, Nuovo Bullettino, p. 253–300, 1906. Also, on the other side, Bonavenia, *Controv. sul celeb. epitaph. di S. Filomena*, Roma, 1906; Giuseppe dè Provèda, *Memoire storiche . . . della Virgine Santa Filomena;* Sebastiano Santucci, *Dissertazione sulla lapide sepolcrale di S. Filomena.*

NOTE 16, PAGE 24.

Lucius Domitius Nero was born at Antium in 37; he came to the throne in 57, and died in 68. At first he was just and humane, but afterwards abandoned himself to every crime. At last he was deserted by all his friends and knew not what to do. His slave Faonte having offered him a refuge at his Villa on the Via Nomentana, at the fourth mile from Rome, Nero fled there by night. When he learned that the Senate had ordered that he should be bound naked and beaten to death, with the help of his Secretary, for he had not the courage to do it himself, he plunged a dagger into his throat, and was buried in the tomb of the Domitii, in the Gardens of Domitia, his aunt, on the Pincian. His ashes were placed in a porphyry urn. In 1099, Pope Paschal II, erected the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, on the right as one goes out of the

Flaminian Gate, on the site of the tomb, because the place was said to be haunted by evil spirits. The high altar was placed over the spot where had been the urn of Nero, surmounted by an altar. Suetonius, *Nero*, c. 48–50, pp. 228–230. See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, c. 4, pp. 185–190.

NOTE 17, PAGE 24.

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL — THEIR MARTYRDOM.

St. Paul probably came to Rome for the first time in 61, and his second visit was in 66. He was beheaded *ad Aquas Salvias*, or at the "Tre Fontane" as it is generally called, on the Via Laurentia near the Ostian Way where he was buried. St. Peter was crucified near the Circus of Nero, at the Vatican. As to the date of the martyrdom of the Apostles, all authorities agree upon the day, June 29, but differ as to the year. Eusebius, St. Jerome, and most others assign the event to the year 67. The latter says that Seneca died two years before the Apostles, and his death occurred in 65. *De vir. illust.*, c. 12, col. 629, P. L. 23.

Some adopt the year 66. Attilio Profumo, in his great work, *Le fonti ed i tempi dello incendio Neroniano*, assigns the Neronian conflagration to June, 65, instead of the summer of 64, as generally received, and thinks that St. Peter was crucified at that time. The martyrdom of many Christians, *crucibus affivi*, fastened to crosses, related by Tacitus, *Annales*, l. 15, c. 44, p. 360, may have included St. Peter. In the Martyrology attributed to St. Jerome, — incorrectly probably, but a very early and valuable work, — 987 are said to have been put to death on June 29, on the Via Aurelia, near the Vatican, but the year is not given:

iii. Kal. Jul. Romae, natalis sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, et aliorum nongentorum octaginta et septem martyrum. (June 29. At Rome, the Anniversary of SS. Peter and Paul, the Apostles, and nine hundred and eighty-seven other martyrs.) *Martyrol.*, col. 464, P. L. 30.

An early tradition, mentioned by Prudentius, places a year between the deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, *Peristeph. Hym.*, 12, col. 556, P. L. 60. It is impossible to fix the dates with accuracy when we have no definite points to reckon from.

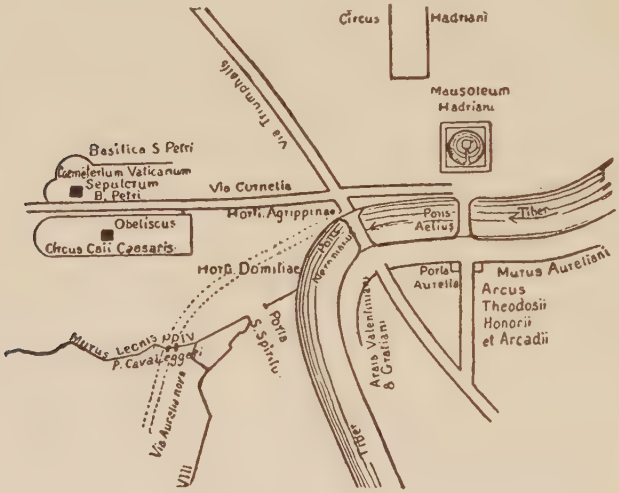
Place of the Crucifixion of St. Peter.

N. 1. The Vatican. Two places are now pointed out as the locality where St. Peter suffered. All records up to about the fourteenth century say that he was crucified on the Vatican.

In the *Acta Petri*, c. 10, pp. 11, 12, ed. Lipsius, Lips., 1891, an apocryphal work, but very ancient, we read that he was crucified "ad locum qui vocatur Naumachiae, juxta obeliscum Neronis, in Montem, illuc enim crux posita est." (At the place which is called the Naumachia, near to the obelisk of Nero, on the mount, for there was his cross placed). We know exactly where the obelisk stood, and the place is marked from which it was moved in 1586. It was close to the church of St. Peter, while the church on the Janiculum is far away.

The *Liber Pontificalis* says: Sepultus est via Aurelia, in templum Apollonis, juxta locum ubi crucifixus est, juxta palatium Neronianum in Vaticanum, juxta territorium triumphalem. (He was buried on the Aurelian Way, at the temple of Apollo, near the place where he was crucified, near to the palace of Nero on the Vatican, near to the Triumphal territory), that is the Triumphal Way. *Petrus*, c. 1, p. 118, T. 1, ed. Duchesne.

The temple of Cybele, the great mother of the gods, close to one side of the basilica, was often called the temple of Apollo. In the Middle Ages that name was given to the chapel of St. Petronilla.



The accompanying plan of the site of St. Peter's Church, shows the basilica of Constantine, the tomb of St. Peter, the circus of Nero, the obelisk, the tomb of Hadrian, the Via Cornelia, Via Triumphalis, and, in dotted lines, the new Via Aurelia, laid out by Marcus Aurelius. Marucchi, *S. Pietro e S. Paolo in Roma*, c. 4, p. 58.

The Janiculum. In the court of the monastery at the church of San Pietro in Montorio, on the Janiculum, is a small circular building, erected by Bramante, 1499–1502, on the spot where some maintain that St. Peter was crucified, and there is an opening in the floor where the cross is supposed to have stood.

Up to the beginning of the fifteenth century, no document speaks of the crucifixion of St. Peter on the Janiculum. Then

Maffeo Vegio, a man of much learning, who flourished under Eugenius IV and Nicholas V (1431–1455), publicly defended this view, which, perhaps, had just come up as a "pious opinion." It is of no historic value.

We also have now in Jerusalem two different places pointed out as Calvary, where Christ was crucified, — the traditional one which was pointed out to Constantine, when, in 335, he built the church of the Resurrection, and the new place, discovered in 1867, a short distance out of the Damascus Gate, and called Gordon's Calvary, in honor of the discoverer. This place was never mentioned in any document or tradition. There was not even a "pious tradition" in favor of the new site. As things are now, after the lapse of nearly nineteen centuries, and since hills have been levelled and valleys filled, and walls have been altered and extended, the new site for Calvary has every advantage over the traditional one.

Archaeology rests upon documents. It does not accept a thing without good proof. A "pious opinion" is not necessarily a "pious fraud." It is difficult to say how a tradition or story originates, but when once started it grows. It is reasonable and plausible; it is possible; it appeals to one's feelings and sentiment; it then becomes probable, and finally is looked upon as a settled fact. It contradicts no express record, and often the documents are of so general a character, and are so indefinite, that there is an "honest difference of opinion" as to their meaning. There are disputes about most of the great events recorded in history. Take one in the history of our own country. We have all read how Governor Andros went to Hartford in 1687 to receive the surrender of the Charter of the Colony of Connecticut. The candles at the evening session were accidentally extinguished by a gust of wind, and when they had been re-lighted it was found that the Charter had disappeared. It was hidden in the hollow of

an old oak, and thus preserved. Andros is supposed to have quietly returned to Boston without having accomplished his mission, and yet making no remonstrance against such a treasonable act. This story in its present form first appeared about 1793, one hundred years after the event took place. It is founded upon a historic fact, but in part it is purely legendary, is improbable, and in two points contradicts existing public records; yet it is generally accepted as true, and will probably always be believed by some.

The Burial Place of St. Peter.

There is no difference of opinion as to where St. Peter was buried. It was on the margin of the Via Cornelia, which separated the Circus of Nero from where the church of St. Peter now stands, a place certainly devoted to burial, and many pagan tombs of the first century were found there when the foundations of the modern church were laid. Some of these tombs may have belonged to the freedmen of Nero, and perhaps the Apostle was buried in a lot belonging to a Christian of the "household of Caesar." Pope Anacletus (79–91) is said to have erected a Memorial over his tomb: Hic memoriam beati Petri construxit et composuit. *Liber Pontificalis*, *Anacletus*, c. 5, p. 125, T. 1, ed. Duchesne.

Most of the early Bishops of Rome were buried at the Vatican up to Zephyrinus (202–218), when they began to bury at the Catacomb of St. Callistus. But none of their sepulchres exist to-day, with the possible exception of that of Linus. All the others have been destroyed in some way. It is said that of the eighty-seven sepulchres of the Popes that existed there at the time that old St. Peter's was demolished, not many remain. A few bodies were taken to other churches and the other tombs were destroyed. What vandalism!

Lanciani says: "The account published by Armellini (Chiese di Roma, 1st edition, p. 520) proves that St. Peter must have

been buried in a small plot surrounded by other tombs, and probably protected by an enclosing wall. There were graves which in later ages had been dug in confusion, one above the other, by persons wishing to lie as near as possible to the remains of the Apostle; but those of the time of the persecution were arranged in parallel lines, and consisted of plain marble coffins bearing no name, and containing one or two bodies which were dressed like mummies, with bands of darkish linen wound about the body and head. This statement is corroborated by other evidence. In 1615, when Paul V built the stairs leading to the Confession and the crypts, 'several bodies were found lying in coffins, tied with linen bands, as we read of Lazarus in the Gospel, ligatus pedibus et manibus institis. One body only was attired in a sort of pontifical robe. Notwithstanding the absence of written indications we thought they were the graves of the ten Bishops of Rome buried in Vaticano.' So speaks Giovanni Severano on page 20 of his book Memorie sacre della Chiese di Roma, which was printed in 1629. Francesco Maria Torrigio, who witnessed the exhumations with Cardinal Evangelista Pallotta, adds that the linen bands were from two to three inches wide, and that they must have been soaked in aromatics. One of the coffins bore, however, the name LINVS. Let us now refer to the Liber Pontificalis, the authority of which as an historical text-book cannot be doubted, since the critical publication of Louis Duchesne. After describing the 'deposition of St. Peter in the Vatican, near the Circus of Nero, between the Via Aurelia and the Via Triumphalis, juxta locum ubi crucifixus est (near the place of his crucifixion)' it proceeds to say that Linus 'was buried side by side with the remains of the blessed Peter, in the Vatican, October 24.'" *Pagan and Christian Rome*, c. 3, pp. 129, 130.

The *Liber Pontificalis* says that the early Bishops of Rome were buried *juxta corpus beati Petri* — next to or along side

of the body of the Blessed Peter. The later ones were buried *in basilica* or *ecclesia* — in the basilica or church of St. Peter — not close to him.

At the beginning of the third century, Caius, a Roman priest and a contemporary of Tertullian, writing against Proclus, a Montanist heretic, speaks of the tombs of the Apostles as situated just where they are now.

"But I can show you the trophies of the Apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Way, you will find the trophies of those who have founded this Church." *Frag. ex Dial. adv. Proc.*, col. 52 A, P. G. 10, quoted by Eusebius, H. E., l. 2, c. 25, col. 209, P. G. 20.

The Platonia at the Catacomb of St. Sebastian.

We have accounts of two translations of the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul to the Catacombs, and in early times the name of catacomb was applied only to what is now the Catacomb of St. Sebastian. To the left of the apse of the church of St. Sebastian is a semi-circular building, two-thirds under ground and one-third above, not excavated, but constructed of masonry. Below the chamber that you enter, where there is an altar of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, is another, seen through an opening at the back of the altar, which contains a tomb about a yard high, divided into two equal parts by a slab. This is where the bodies of the Apostles were once hidden. Excavations made in 1892 show work of the first, third and fourth centuries. The stucco work is very fine and of perfect execution, and the decorations are of the classical order and point to a high antiquity. There are large polygonal blocks of basalt, and other indications of the first century. Perhaps it was an ancient tomb. Damasus decorated the walls of the Platonia with slabs of marble, and erected here a church, called the *Basilica Sanctorum Apostolorum*, now the church of St.

Sebastian, and to it, in ancient times, on June 29, the Anniversary of the Apostles, crowds of the faithful flocked, as well as to the churches on the Ostian Way and at the Vatican. Damasus also erected this inscription:

> Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes
> Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris
> Discipulos Oriens misit quod sponte fatemur
> Sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti
> Ætherios petiere sinus et regna piorum.
> Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives
> Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.

(Here, you ought to know, once dwelt saints. Their names were Peter and Paul, if you wish to know them. We willingly acknowledge that the East sent Disciples [the Apostles], and by the merit of their blood, having followed Christ beyond the stars, they sought the heavenly abode and the kingdom of the saints. Rome indeed had reason to defend her citizens. May Damasus relate your praises, O new stars!) *Carm.* 9, col. 382, 383, P. L. 13.

The First Translation of the Bodies.

In the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, c. 66, pp. 175, 177, Greek and Lat., ed. Lipsius, an early apocryphal work of some value, we read:

Sanctorum autem Apostolorum dum a Graecis corpora tollerentur ad Orientem ferenda, extitit terrae motus nimius, et occurrit populus Romanus et comprehenderunt eos in loco qui dicitur Catacumba via Appia, miliario tertio; et ibi custodita sunt corpora anno uno et mensibus septem, quousque fabricarentur loca in quibus fuerint posita corpora eorum. Et illic revocata sunt cum gloria hymnorum et posita, Sancti Petri in

Vaticano Naumachiae et Sancti Pauli in via Ostiensi miliario secundo.

(When the bodies of the Holy Apostles were being taken away by the Greeks to be conveyed to the East, a great earthquake occurred, and the Roman people rushed out and seized them at the place which is called the Catacombs, at the third mile on the Appian Way. And there the bodies were buried one year and seven months, until the places were prepared in which they were placed. And their bodies were taken thither with glorious hymns; that of St. Peter was placed in the Vatican at the Naumachia, and that of St. Paul on the Ostian Way at the second mile.)

Damasus in his inscription cited above, "Rome had reason to defend her citizens," seems to refer to this tradition. Gregory the Great, in *Ep.* 30, to the Empress Constantina, speaks very plainly. See the letter in full, Note 37, below.

The Second Translation.

The account of the first translation is merely a tradition, but a very early one, and has the authority of Damasus, and Gregory the Great. Some accept the account, as Armellini, Lugari and others. But that the Apostles were in the Catacombs in 258, when the cemeteries were confiscated under Valerian, has the authority of the Records of the Roman Church. We are sure only of a translation. We know nothing of the circumstances, and it is very doubtful whether many ever knew of them, as it would have been most unwise and unsafe for this thing to have been known to the Roman authorities. The Philocalian Martyrology does not speak positively of a translation, but under the date of June 29, it refers to the Consulship of Tuscus and Bassus, *Tusco et Basso Coss.* The Martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome says expressly:

iii. Kal. Jul. Romae Natalis Petri et Pauli apostolorum, Petri in Vaticano, Pauli vero in via Ostiense; utriusque in catacumbis passi sub Nerone, Tusco et Basso Consulibus.

(June 29. At Rome, the Anniversary of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul the Apostles, Peter in the Vatican, but Paul on the Ostian Way, both in the Catacombs — having suffered under Nero — in the Consulship of Tuscus and Bassus), that is, in 258. Armellini, *Le Catacombe Romane*, c. 2, pp. 395, 396.

Some think that the body of St. Peter was translated to the Catacombs in the early part of the third century, when Heliogabalus (218–222) destroyed many tombs at the Vatican to enlarge the Circus of Nero, as recorded by Lampridius:

Fertur .... elephantorum quatuor quadrigas in Vaticano agitasse dirutis sepulcris quae obsistebant.

(He is said to have driven chariots of four elephants in the Vatican, having destroyed the tombs which were in the way.) *Vit. Heliogab.*, n. 23, p. 236.

The body of St. Paul, it is claimed, was translated later, in 258, when the cemeteries were confiscated. But this is only an opinion.

How long the bodies of the Apostles remained in the Catacombs is unknown. Some think they were removed about 260, when the cemeteries were restored to the Church under Gallienus; and others think they were there till the time of Constantine. The *Itinerarium Salisburgense* (seventh century) tells us that they remained there for forty years, but does not refer to any particular event: —

Via Appia ..... ibi sunt sepulcra Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in quibus XL annorum requiescebant.

(The Appian Way . . . . . there are the sepulchres of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in which they rested forty years.) Armellini, *Antiche Cimiteri*, p. 100.

The Dividing of the Bones of SS. Peter and Paul.

There is a tradition that in the fourth century the bones of the Apostles were divided, a part of each being buried in both churches. In the Vatican crypt is a slab of porphyry (No. 119) of about the fourteenth century, which informs us that on this stone the bones of Peter and Paul were divided when the church was built in 319. There is an earlier inscription of 1128, that of Pierre de Léon (Petrus Leonis), of Jewish origin, father of the Anti-Pope Anacletus II, whose sarcophagus — a pagan one of the second century — is in the cloisters of St. Paul's church; this reads *quibus est idem tumulus* — they have the same tomb).

Prudentius, early in the fifth century, tells us that the Tiber separated their sepulchres and bones: —

> Dividit ossa duum Tibris, sacer ex utraque ripa,
> Inter sacrata dum fluit sepulcra.
>
> *Peristeph. Hym.*, 12, col. 561, P. L. 60.

There is also a tradition that their heads are now preserved in the church of St. John Lateran, where they are exhibited on Good Friday. But this is a late tradition. The first mention is in an inventory written in the twelfth century by John the Deacon, dedicated to Alexander III (1159–1181). See Antonelli, *Mem. storich. delle sac. teste . . . . della Basilic. Lateran.*, p. 10.

There is not the slightest probability, so far as the church is concerned, that the bones of the Apostles have ever been divided or interfered with in any way since they were placed in their tombs, except when they were hidden in the Catacombs

for safety, and then they were placed apart, the marble slab dividing the sepulchre being still in place. The Roman Church was very strict on this point. Whether their bodies were profaned under the Saracens in 846, or during the sack of Rome in 1527, is a question, but probably not; at any rate it was not done by the Church. Gregory the Great, in his letter to the Empress Constantina, says expressly that no one dared to touch or even look upon their bodies. He tells us that in his time (about the seventh century) "their bodies were still in their respective churches,—*corpora . . . . in ecclesiis suis.*" See Note 37.

The Tomb of St. Peter.

We have the following account of the building of the tomb of St. Peter, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 2 Tomi, Paris, 1886–1892. The book was compiled under Pope Hormisdas (514–523), as is supposed, from ancient records.

Eodem tempore Augustus Constantinus fecit basilicam beato Petro apostolo in templo Apollonis, cujus loculum cum corpus sancti Petri ita recondit: ipsum loculum undique ex aere Cypro conclusit, quod est inmobile: ad caput, pedes v; ad pedes, pedes v; ad latus dextrum, pedes v; ad latus sinistrum, pedes v; subter, pedes v; supra, pedes v; sic inclusit, corpus beati apostoli et recondit.

Et super corpus beati Petri, supra aera quod conclusit, fecit crucem ex auro purissimo, pens. lib. CL, in mensurae locus, ubi scriptum est hoc: CONSTANTINVS AVGVSTVS ET HELENA AVGVSTA HANC DOMVM REGALEM [AVRO DECORANT QVAM] SIMILI FVLGORE CORVSCANS AVLA CIRCVMDAT, scriptum ex litteris nigellis in cruce ipsa.

(At the same time the Emperor Constantine erected a basilica to the Blessed Apostle Peter, at the temple of Apollo, the

loculus of which, with the body of St. Peter, he concealed in this manner: he enclosed the *loculus* itself on all sides with bronze of Cyprus, so that it is immovable; at the head five feet; at the foot five feet; on the right side five feet; on the left side five feet; below five feet; above five feet. In this manner he enclosed the body of the Blessed Apostle and concealed it.

And upon the body of the Blessed Peter, above the bronze that enclosed it, he placed a cross of the purest gold, weighing one hundred and fifty pounds, of the size of the place, which bore this inscription, written with black encaustic letters on the cross itself: The Emperor Constantine and the Empress Helena decorate this royal house with gold, which the hall surrounds, shining with a like brightness.) *Silvester*, c. 34, n. 16, 17, p. 176, T. 1.

The inscription on the cross is clearly defective, owing to the omission of a few words which have been supplied by a conjecture of De Rossi, *Inscrip. Rom.*, p. 199, T. 2.

The *loculus*, or lower funeral chamber, is designated as the "royal house," and the "hall," splendid with like golden decorations, is the surrounding basilica. The account is not very clear, for the place was probably inaccessible from the time of Constantine. It very likely corresponded to the primitive Memorial of St. Peter erected by Anacletus. Some have thought that the bronze mass was a cube of five feet, and that it was of a strange shape, not long enough to contain a body, as a Roman foot is not quite as long as an English one. Others understand from the passage that the thickness of the bronze around the sarcophagus was five feet on all sides. It stood in an ornamented chamber which was inclosed, and the vault was also inclosed by an horizontal slab.

Lipsius gives a version from another text, in the acts of Pope Silvester, from the *Liber Pontificalis:*

Beati Petri nomine [basilicam] dedicavit, ibique ejus sacratissimum corpus summa cum exaltatione locavit, ac neutiquam a quolibet tam pretiosus exinde thesaurus possit auferri, circa locum ipsum, quo beatum corpus continetur tantum aeris Cyprii liquorem praecepit effundi, ut ex omni undique latere et tam supra quam subter ad quinque pedum grossitudinem vastam molem efficeret, quae non solum minime rescindi, sed ne loco quidem possit moveri ullo modo. Supra aes autem ipsum posuit crucem ex auro purissimo centum quinquaginta librarum. Pari etiam modo beatissimi quoque Pauli corpus venerabile in basilica quam ipse ejus honore construxerat sepeliverat.

(He dedicated a basilica by the name of the Blessed Peter, and there he placed his sacred body with great exultation. And that such a precious treasure should in no wise be removed by any one, about the place — *locus* — where the blessed body was located, he commanded so much molten bronze of Cyprus to be poured, that on every side, and above and below, to the thickness of five feet, it might become a huge mass, that not only could not be broken open, but one that could by no means be moved from its position. Upon the bronze itself he placed a cross of the purest gold of one hundred and fifty pounds. In a like manner also he had buried the venerable body of the most blessed Paul in the basilica which he had constructed in his honor.) *Passio SS. Apost. Pet. et Paul*, Note, pp. 176, 177.

Petrus Mallius, a priest at the basilica of St. Peter under Eugenius III (1145–1153), describes the basilica, and mentions the cross given by Constantine, but apparently had not seen it. Perhaps the *cella* had been made inaccessible in the fifth century, at the time of the Gothic invasion, or in the ninth, when the Saracens appeared.

Francesco Maria Torrigio, in his "Relation," a MS. cited by Grisar, *Le Tombe Apostoliche*, N. 10, pp. 45, 46, gives an account of the excavations in 1594, in order to lay the foundations of the new altar. Giacomo della Porta, the architect, announced to Clement VIII that he had detected an opening through which the monument of St. Peter was visible. The Pope, taking with him Cardinals Bellarmine, Antoniano and Sfondrato, visited the spot, and by the aid of a lighted torch looked in and saw the golden cross on the sepulchre. He then ordered the opening to be filled with cement.

Armellini in his *Le Chiese di Roma*, P. 2, c. 14, p. 696–718, prints from an unedited MS. of R. Ubaldi, Canon of St. Peter's, in the archives of the Vatican, a Relation of the excavations begun in 1626, in order to lay the foundations for the support of the four bronze columns at the new altar erected by Urban VIII. The Pope hesitated to begin the work for fear of injuring the tomb of St. Peter. He requested Niccolò Alamanni, a Greek, keeper of the Vatican Library, a man skilled in antiquities, versed in many languages, and of various learning, to consider the whole matter, whether it was probable that they would find the body of St. Peter, or be able to distinguish it from others with which it might be mixed, and the danger of incurring sacrilege, as related by Gregory the Great in his Epistle to Constantina (see Note 37). His opinion being favorable, the work was begun June 29, 1626, on the first foundation. The place was found to be full of sepulchres and tombs at the depth of thirteen palms. The first bodies were exhumed in the presence of Alamanni, and it was decided that they were not the bodies of saints or of ecclesiastical persons. But in a few days he died, followed by D. Francesco Schiadero, the Pope's private chaplain, and Bartolomeo, his amanuensis. These deaths caused a great fear and a change in the minds of many, who thought that the guilt of sacrilege had been incurred, as related by Gregory the Great. So they

again examined the Epistle and also the *Liber Pontificalis*. It was concluded that the bronze of five feet put around the sarcophagus by Constantine did not mean the size of the tomb, but that the thickness of the wall was five feet, so there was no danger of injuring it. Work was then resumed by order of the Pontiff, but with the greatest care. Many bodies, some of which fell into dust the moment they were touched or moved, skulls, pieces of bone mixed with ashes, suggestive of the fires of Nero, and a few medals, one of Commodus, 182, were found in these excavations. All these relics were carefully preserved and buried elsewhere. The excavations were made to the depth of twenty-eight palms.

A few years ago Father Grisar, of the Jesuit Order, made a study of the tombs of the Apostles, which was first published in the periodical *Studi e Documenti di storia e dritto*, an. XIII, Roma 1892. The following is the result of his investigations:

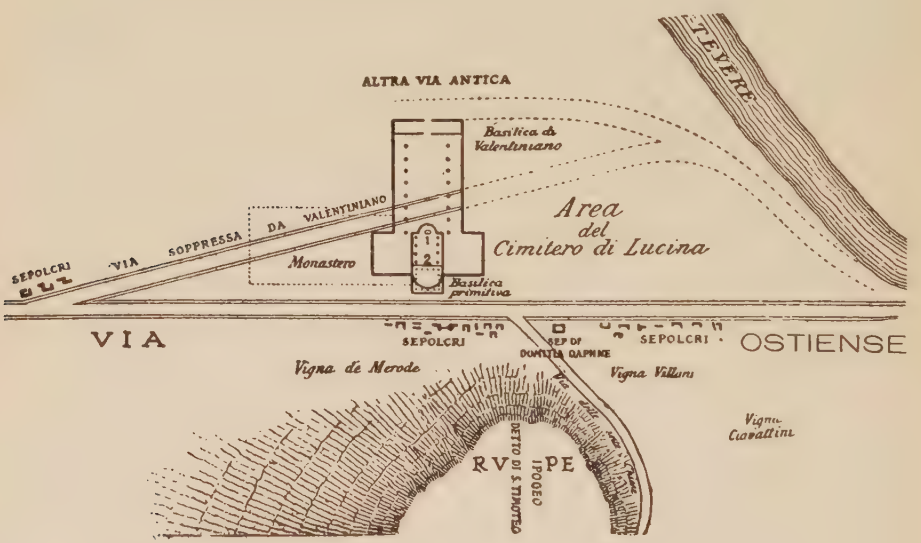
Noi vedremo piu sotto, che il *loculus* dell' Apostolo circondato da Constantino di grandi e validissime pareti di bronzo da tutti i lati, sta ad una tale profundità, che un violento aprimento del *loculus* appena diventa verisimile.

Di piu, se mai si fosse estratto il corpo da quel *loculus*, se ne avrebbero notizie. Ma nessun testimonio, nessuna relazione comunque oscura o tarda, da tempo antico o del medio evo, ci parla d' un simile avvenimento.

(We shall see a little below that the *loculus* of the Apostle surrounded by Constantine with great and strong walls of bronze on all sides, stands at such a depth that a violent opening of the *loculus* is very unlikely. Besides, if the body had ever been taken from that *loculus*, there would have been notice of it. But no testimony, no account, however obscure or late, from times ancient or mediaeval, informs us of such an event.) *Le Tombe Apost.*, N. 5, p. 25.

The Tomb and Church of St. Paul.

We give a ground plan of the church, showing the outlines of the small primitive basilica of Constantine inside of the larger one of Valentinianus II, and the intersecting or cross-road, discontinued when the church was built. Marucchi, *S. Pietro e S. Paolo in Roma*, c. 4, p. 70.



The church erected by Constantine was quite small and situated between the Ostian Way and the cross-road, and the altar over the tomb was just back of the discontinued road. The entrance was from the Ostian Way. The new church had the entrance at the other end, nearer the Tiber, the apse where the old entrance was, and the altar remained as before, over the tomb. The Apostle was buried in a low piece of ground used as a cemetery, between the two roads. His tomb is about eleven feet below the level of the street, twelve and a half feet below the transept of the church, and nine feet below the nave and aisles. It is eleven feet above the mean level of

the Tiber, which often overflows. In the high freshet of 1870 the water was twenty-six feet above the top of the grave. This cemetery was in the open, and had no connection with the Catacombs on the other side of the Ostian Way, in the hill, as was evident when the new sewer to drain Rome was recently built, which was excavated thirty-four feet below the level of the street. The whole plain was found to be full of pagan graves of the first and second centuries, and hundreds were found in cutting the sewer.

The Covering of St. Paul's Tomb.

The places cut in the marble are where incense was burned every year on the feast-day. The coals were distributed, powdered, mixed with water, and drunk by the people as a remedy against fever. The same rite was used at St. Peter's. Marucchi, *Eléments*, T. 3; *Basiliques*, l. 2, c. 3, p. 142; Grisar, *Le Tombe Apost. di Roma*, Tavola.

The grave was seen for the first time, we do not know for how long, July 28, 1838, when the new altar was erected to take the place of that destroyed by the fire of July 15, 1823. The marble covering is in four pieces, and marked simply PAVLO APOSTOLO MART. (Paul the Apostle, Martyr.) It is said that many archaeologists, the members of the Commission, and various Cardinals wished to open the grave, but Gregory XVI, after thinking over the matter a whole night, was unwilling to touch the venerable tomb for fear of profanation, as was Clement VIII, when it was proposed to examine the tomb of St. Peter. In 1850, when the foundations of the new canopy were laid, the old paved road, discontinued, was discovered within fifteen feet of the tomb. A pagan columbarium in fine condition was found close to it, but most unfortunately no investigation was made. Several pagan inscriptions were brought to light.

Lanciani thus speaks of the tomb: "The slabs and their precious inscription were left visible under the new canopy, and I have myself had the privilege of studying them at leisure (on December 1, 1891), by lowering myself on hands and knees through the 'fenestella confessionis.' Two things we must bear in mind: first, that the slabs inscribed with the name of Paul are not in their original position, but appear to have been replaced over the grave most negligently, in a slanting direction; secondly, that the inscription is mutilated at the right end, the last three letters of the word MART(*yri*) being missing.

"Briefly, my opinion is this: The grave of St. Paul has come down to us, most likely, as it was left by Constantine the Great, enclosed in a metal case. The Saracens of 846 damaged the outside and the marble epitaph, but did not reach the grave. As to the nature of the grave itself, its shape, its aspect, its contents, I am afraid our curiosity will never be satisfied." *New Tales of Old Rome*, c. 4, pp. 166, 174, Boston and New York, 1901.

The view of the covering of the tomb as given above from Marucchi and Grisar, does not show any mutilation at the end, nor is it intimated by them. Besides, had the Saracens attempted to pillage the tomb, it does not seem probable that they would have taken the trouble to replace the stones. It may have been injured by earthquakes. The *Liber Pontificalis*, c. 98, n. 31, p. 9, T. 2, mentions one April 30, 801, during the time of Leo III (795–816), which ruined the altar of the confession and its precious ornaments. One in 897 did great damage to Rome, and another in 1348 destroyed a great part of the roof of the basilica and the adjoining buildings, and badly injured the Campanile. See Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, c. 4, pp. 19, 20.

The Covering of St. Paul's Tomb.

Possible Profanation of the Tombs of the Apostles by the Goths, Vandals, Lombards, Saracens, and at the Sack of Rome.

In the invasions of Roman territory, 410, 455, 537, by the Goths and Vandals, and later by the Lombards, we read of no profanation of the tombs, though there was great pillage of the city and the Catacombs. The invaders were Christians. When the Goths made their incursion in August, 410, they made St. Peter's and St. Paul's churches inviolable asylums and places of refuge, as St. Jerome tells us was the case with Marcella, who sought an asylum at St. Paul's. *Ep.* 127, *ad Princip. Virg.*, c. 13, col. 1095, P. L. 22.

Orosius tells us that Alaric ordered that :

Si qui in sancta loca praecipue sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos imprimis inviolatos securosque esse sinerent.

(If any had fled to sacred places, particularly the basilicas of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, let these especially be permitted to be inviolate and secure.) *Hist.*, l. 7, c. 39, col. 1163, P. L. 31.

In 455 the churches of St. Peter, St. John Lateran, and St. Paul were made places of refuge by Genseric. Leo the Great was then Bishop of Rome.

The Saracens.

In 846 the Saracens came up the Tiber and invaded the city. They pillaged the basilicas of St. Paul and St. Peter, as well as other churches. Lanciani estimates that from these two churches they must have carried away at least three tons of gold and thirty of silver, in decorations and ornaments.

See his *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, c. 11, pp. 126–138; *New Tales of Old Rome*, c. 4, p. 172.

Sergius II (844–847) had full warning of the approach of the Saracens, but took no measures to remove the treasures of the church, which were pillaged. *Liber Pontificalis*, *Sergius*, c. 104, n. 44, p. 99, T. 2.

They probably did no harm to the body of St. Peter, as Leo IV (847–855), after their departure, placed golden crowns "juxta altare sub quo ejus sacratissimum corpus requiescit. . . . Atque sacratissimum Dei altare, quod supra sanctissimum beati Petri Apostoli corpus consistit."

(About the altar, under which rests his most holy body. . . . And the most holy altar of God which stands over the sacred body of the Blessed Apostle Peter). *Liber Pontificalis*, *Leo*, c. 105, n. 88, 105, pp. 128, 133, T. 2.

Benedict III (855–858) repaired the altar of St. Paul's which had been destroyed by the Saracens. They probably carried away the rich ornaments and perhaps the cross of gold given by Constantine, but if the body of the Apostle was enclosed in a mass of bronze five feet thick, that must have been safe.

Nam et in basilica doctoris mundi beati Pauli apostoli, argenteis tabulis sepulchrum quod a Sarracenis destructum fuerat perornavit, pens. lib. numero CIII.

(In the basilica of the Blessed Apostle Paul, the Doctor of the world, he adorned the sepulchre, which had been destroyed by the Saracens, with silver tablets, weighing one hundred and three pounds.) *Liber Pontificalis*, *Benedictus*, c. 106, n. 22, p. 145, T. 2.

Lanciani: — "It would be impossible to discuss in a book like the present, all the arguments brought forward to prove or to deny the profanation of the sanctuaries of both Peter

and Paul in 846. My opinion is that the fate of the two holy places was not in all respects the same ; that the sarcophagus of St. Peter, placed in a subterranean crypt and protected by a case of solid metal embedded in masonry, escaped rifling, while that of St. Paul, a plain marble coffin level with the floor of the basilica, was certainly injured or destroyed. We find evidence of the fact last mentioned in the life of Benedict III [855–858]: Sepulchrum (Pauli apostoli) quod a Sarracenis destructum fuerat, perornavit. The word destructum, however, cannot be taken in a literal sense; the lid of the sarcophagus, with the epitaph PAULO APOSTOLO MART (YRI) engraved in the style of the age of Constantine, is still in existence. I saw it on Dec. 1, 1891, having lowered myself from the fenestella under the high altar." *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, c. 11, pp. 131, 132, New York, 1899; *Pagan and Christian Rome*, c. 3, pp. 148, 149, 157.

The Sack of Rome.

In May, 1527, occurred the Sack of Rome by Charles de Bourbon. He had an army of 20,000 Germans, 14,000 Italians, and 6,000 Spaniards, the scum of creation. The Italians and Spaniards were nominally Catholics, and the Germans were at least nominally Christians, but their barbarities, and their profanation of places and things sacred can hardly be believed. In these respects they surpassed the infidel Saracens. They are said to have broken open the tomb of St. Peter and to have scattered his ashes, but Lanciani thinks this an exaggeration, being supported by the testimony of one man only. See Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, c. 18, pp. 214–226; *New Tales of Ancient Rome*, c. 4, pp. 173, 174.

Charles V of Germany and King of Spain, was born in Ghent, Feb. 24, 1500. He ascended the Spanish throne in 1516 as Charles I, and became Emperor of Germany in 1518.

He died Sept. 21, 1558. Charles de Bourbon, born Feb. 17, 1489, received from Francis I of France, the sword of Constable, when he was twenty-six years old. In 1523, Charles V took him into his service; he led the soldiers at the seige of Rome and promised them the plunder of the city. He was killed May 6, 1527, during the seige, by Cellini, and died excommunicate. Charles V publicly disavowed the proceedings of the Constable, but it was only hypocrisy.

All historical and archaeological authorities agree that the remains of the Apostles were once placed in the tombs now recognized as theirs. We have no record that they have ever been removed or disturbed. If the account that their bodies were encased in thick bronze, buried deeply in the earth, is correct, we may be quite sure that they are yet there, and the matter can be settled only by excavation and investigation. The present condition of the tombs is of comparatively little importance.

NOTE 18, PAGE 24.

Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus was the son of Flavius Valerius Constantius (called Chlorus, from his great pallor) and Flavia Julia Helena. The names of her parents are unknown. She was a devout Christian, and died in 326 or 328. She is said to have been born about 248 in Bithynia, according to some accounts. She was buried in Rome, on the Via Labicana, *ad duas Lauros*, now Tor Pignattara. Her porphyry sarcophagus was restored and placed in the Vatican Museum by Pius VI. Twenty-five stone-cutters worked on it nine years. He was born A. D. 274, in Dacia. In his youth he distinguished himself in various expeditions in Britain. His soldiers proclaimed him Emperor, and he became a colleague of the five Emperors who then governed Rome. He was successful in the wars against the Germans and Gauls. Having

heard that Maxentius was about to attack him in Gaul, he marched to meet him, and at Saxa Rubra, not far from the Milvian bridge, he defeated him, Oct. 12, 312; Maxentius himself, in his flight, was drowned in the Tiber.

Just before the battle Constantine saw a luminous cross in the sky, with the words "τούτῳ νίκα — conquer by this." Eusebius, in his *Life of Constantine*, l. 1, c. 28, 29, col. 944, P. G. 20, informs us that Constantine himself told him this. Thereupon he adopted a new standard, called the Labarum, with the monogram of Christ, which is represented in inscriptions and on coins, differing a little in details, and bearing these words EN TOYTΩ NIKA.

In 315 the Senate erected a Triumphal Arch near the Colosseum, to commemorate this victory. As Constantine was a Christian, and did not acknowledge the gods of the Empire, in order to offend no one the inscription was compromised, and the victory ascribed to the "inspiration of the Divinity — *instinctu Divinitatis*," rather than to Jupiter and the gods. Licinius having become his enemy, Constantine defeated him in battle in 314, and afterwards put him to death in 323. From 324–337 he was sole Emperor. In 330 he transferred the Imperial seat to Byzantium, and named the city Constantinople — the City of Constantine. It was also called New Rome. This step was the ruin of old Rome. No new works were undertaken, and the old ones fell into decay. The city became a mere Provincial town. He died in 337, in Nicomedia, soon after his baptism, and was buried in Rome. The Senate placed him, as it had some of his predecessors, among the gods, and the Christians numbered him with the Saints. A comet appeared at the time of his death.

Denunciata mors ejus est etiam per crinitam stellam, quae inusitatae magnitudinis aliquamdiu fulsit; . . . . atque inter Divos meruit referri.

(His death was also announced by a hairy star of unusual size, which shone for some time, ... and he deserved to be ranked among the gods). Eutropius, *Hist. Rom. Brev.*, l. 10, c. 8, p. 88.

Constantine was far from being a perfect Christian. He committed some crimes, and put to death his son Crispus, upon a suspicion. But he did many good things. By the Edict of Milan in 313, he made the existence of Christianity legal, which it was not before. He did not abolish paganism, which continued till the fifth century. He very much mitigated slavery without abolishing it legally, though the Church had virtually done away with it, and forbade the branding of slaves with hot irons; the punishment of criminals by crucifixion was also abolished; divorce, so common among the Romans was made more difficult; the condition of prisoners was greatly improved; the land-taxes were diminished; and he ordered Sunday to be observed as a day of rest and religious worship. He erected the churches of the Saviour, now St. John Lateran, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Lawrence, St. Agnes, SS. Peter and Marcellinus, and perhaps others in Rome, endowing them with gifts of land, and gold and silver ornaments, and built churches in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and elsewhere. He also assisted at the Council of Nicea in 325.

NOTE 19, PAGE 25.

Origen: At Petrus per Pontum, Galatiam, Bithyniam, Cappadociam atque Asiam Judaeis qui in dispersione erant, praedicasse existimatur. Qui ad extremum Romam veniens, crucifixus est capite deorsum demisso.

(But Peter is thought to have preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Asia, to the Jews who were

scattered abroad; who at last coming to Rome, was crucified with his head downward). *Com. in Gen.*, T. 3; *Frag.*, col. 92, P. G. 12.

NOTE 20, PAGE 26.

Titus Flavius Domitianus was the second son of Vespasian, and succeeded his brother Titus in 81. He reigned fifteen years and was forty-five years old when he was killed, in 96, by conspirators. At the beginning of his reign he was just and moderate, but became a tyrant. He erected a Temple of the Flavian family, *Templum Flaviae Gentis*, on the Quirinal, to receive their ashes, and his own were placed there. This temple existed till the fourth century. The mausoleum was found in the centre of the atrium, about the middle of the sixteenth century, and was destroyed.

Juvenal calls Domitian "Calvo . . . . Neroni, — the bald Nero." *Satyr.* 4, lin. 39–38, p. 33.

Tertullian styles him "a portion of Nero, — Domitianus, portio Neronis." *Apol.*, c. 5, p. 62, Pars 1.

NOTE 21, PAGE 27.

Jerome speaks of a pilgrimage of Paula to the island of Pontia, where "she saw the little cells in which Flavia Domitilla endured a long martyrdom," — "videnque cellulas in quibus illa longum martyrium duxerat." *Ep.* 108, *ad Eustoch.*, c. 7, col. 882, P. L. 22.

NOTE 22, PAGE 29.

In the Vigna Randanini is a Jewish Catacomb of about the third century. In appearance it is very similar to the Christian Catacombs, but the galleries are wider. The walls are

covered with paintings, and the seven-branched candlestick often appears, and there are pictures of animals and human beings, which are contrary to the Jewish law. It shows that at least the Greek and Alexandrian Jews did not strictly regard this prohibition. There are many Greek and a few Latin inscriptions. They often end with "in peace be thy sleep," "may thy sleep be with the just." There is another smaller Catacomb near by.

NOTE 23, PAGES 27, 30.

The inscriptions are both pagan, found on the place, one in 1772 and the other in 1817. One tomb bears the inscription: "Flaviae Domitillae divi Vespasiani neptis ejus beneficio" — (By the kindness of Flavia Domitilla, niece of the Divine Vespasian); the other, by Calvisius Philotes, "Ex indulgentia Flaviae Domitill. in fr. P. XXXV, in agr. P. XXXX" — (By permission of Flavia Domitilla, 35 feet on the road, 40 feet in the rear). See Lais, *Memorie*, etc., c. 5, pp. 111, 112; Marucchi, *Eléments*, T. 2; *Les Catacombes*, l. 2, c. 2, p. 103.

See also the beautiful Greek inscription of "Flavius Sabinus and Titiana, brother and sister," found here, in De Rossi, *Import. Decouv. au Cimet. de Domitille*, p. 69, and Plate V, n. 4. They may have been children, or grand-children of Flavius Sabinus, the brother of the Emperor Vespasian.

NOTE 24, PAGE 31.

Nearly one thousand inscriptions were in the floor of St. Paul's church, and hundreds in other churches.

NOTE 25, PAGE 31.

The modern Roman cemetery was opened in 1837, under Gregory XVI (1831–1846), and the gate bears an inscription to Pius IX (1846–1878). It was then Papal territory. The Italian troops did not enter Rome till Sept. 20, 1870. I saw the desecrated tombs in 1869. Pius IX, in 1864–1870, repaired and decorated the church of St. Lawrence, and his own tomb, a plain marble one, is in the vestibule of the lower ancient church, the walls of which have been beautifully decorated with mosaics. St. Lawrence has ever been held in the highest veneration, and the conversion of Rome from paganism has been attributed to him in great measure. Armellini writes thus of this cemetery, and mentions many others in about the same sad condition:

Il cimiterio di Ciriaca sulla via tiburtina è stato pressochè tutto distrutto in questo ultimo ventennio dalle tombe moderne dell' odierno camposanto: io stesso ho veduto coi miei occhi dal piccone dei lavoranti atterarsi alla piena luce del giorno i più nobili e storici cubicoli e le cripte più insigni di quella cosi celebre necropoli. . . . . Se si prosegue cosi, Roma cristiana fra pochi anni non potrà più gloriarsi di possedere il suo più bel tesoro; e le catacombe di Roma, questo meraviglioso monumento dei primi secoli cristiani, quest' arsenale ed armeria della fide, spirerà dalle mani degli apologisti del cristianesimo con grande gioia dei suoi nemici, con gran danno della pietà.

(The Cemetery of Ciriaca on the Via Tiburtina has been almost totally destroyed in these last twenty years, by the modern tombs of the present Campo Santo. I myself have seen, with my own eyes, in the full light of day, the most noble and historic chambers, and the most famous crypts of that so-celebrated necropolis, torn to pieces by the pick-axe of the workmen. . . . If things go on in this way, in a few years, Chris-

tian Rome will not be able longer to glory in the possession of her most beautiful treasure, and the Catacombs of Rome, that marvelous monument of the first Christian centuries, that arsenal and armory of the faith, will perish from the hands of the apologists of Christianity, to the great joy of its enemies, with the great loss of piety.) *Gli Antichi Cimiteri*, Part. 2, c. 5, pp. 148, 149. See Part. 3, c. 15, p. 296.

How Pius IX, or the Church authorities could have permitted such a desecration of a historic cemetery, and especially one where he was to have his tomb, seems incredible. In 1870, just before Rome was occupied by the Italians, he destroyed the ancient Gateway of Honorius, over the Via Tiburtina, which led to the church of St. Lawrence, and one of the best preserved, in order to lay the foundations of a column to be erected at the church of St. Pietro in Montorio, on the Janiculum, as a memorial to the Ecumenical Council, which, however, was never built. But the Romans have ever been the worst destroyers of their own treasures. Lanciani well says: "The wholesale destruction, the obliteration of classical and mediaeval monuments, is the work of the Romans and their successive rulers." *Pagan and Christian Rome*, c. 3, p. 156. See also his *The Destruction of Ancient Rome.*

NOTE 26, PAGE 34.

The images of SS. Peter and Paul are very often represented upon sarcophagi, in mosaics and on gold glasses. St. Paul is generally, but not always, represented on the right of the Saviour, and St. Peter on the left. On the portrait of St. Paul, Lanciani remarks:

"In all the portraits which have come down to us by the score, painted on the walls of underground cemeteries, en-

graved in gold leaf on the love-cups, cast in bronze, worked in repoussé on silver or copper medallions, or outlined in mosaic, the features of Paul never vary. He appears as a thin, wiry man, slightly bald, with a long, pointed beard. The expression of the face is calm and benevolent, with a gentle touch of sadness. The profile is unmistakably Jewish; in fact, although born in a gentile city, and of parents who had acquired by some means the Roman franchise, although brought up to speak and write with freedom and mastery the Greek language, and made to feel the influence and the atmosphere of a cultivated community, Saul was essentially a Hebrew of the Hebrews." *New Tales of Old Rome*, c. 4, p. 154.

NOTE 27, PAGE 35.

Damasus:

> Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra
> Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum.
>
> *Carm.* 33, col. 408, P. L. 13.

NOTE 28, PAGE 35.

The body of Damasus was removed from the Catacombs and placed under the high altar in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, founded by himself in 370, but rebuilt and completely altered, in 1495, by Card. Riario, nephew of Sixtus IV, so that there is now no resemblance to the original structure. He was born in Spain about 304, and died in 384, aged about 80, according to St. Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.*, c. 103, col. 701, P. L. 23), who was his secretary. He showed great zeal in restoring, decorating and beautifying the Catacombs. He enlarged the important galleries, sunk shafts for light and air, and built new stairs to accommodate the multitude of pilgrims

and visitors. He placed metrical inscriptions in honor of the Martyrs in most of the Catacombs and in some of the basilicas. But for these, many important events in Church history would have been forgotten. Most of these were cut in marble in very beautiful letters of a special form, by Furius Dionysius Filocalus, who has put his name on the end of an inscription to Pope Eusebius, in the Catacomb of St. Callistus. This is a copy made under Siricius, and contains several errors, the original having been destroyed by the Goths. *Carm.* 12, col. 385, 386, P. L. 13. See Armellini, *Le Catacombe Romane*, c. 15, p. 297.

Most of these marbles have been destroyed, only fragments, often in small pieces which have been patched together, remaining. The inscriptions have mostly come down to us either as restorations, or as copied by the makers of the Itineraries, or guide-books, for the pilgrims who flocked to Rome from the sixth to the ninth centuries. The inscription to Pope Eutychius (*Carm.* 17, col. 391, 392, P. L. 13), at the church of St. Sebastian, on the walls at the right, near the door, is one of the original ones. It recounts his great sufferings for the faith.

The inscription to St. Agnes, in ten lines (*Carm.* 29, col. 402, 403, P. L. 13), at the foot of the stairs leading to her basilica, on the right, is also an original. In October, 1728, while the stone-cutters were repairing the floor of the church, composed in great part of inscriptions taken from the cemetery, they came upon this, which the workmen were about to saw up, when it was miraculously taken from their hands by Marangoni. It must have been out of its original position for a long time, since none of the collectors of Christian poems in the seventh century and later, ever mention it.

Some of the poems of Damasus are rather obscure and difficult to translate, at least in the form they have come down to us.

NOTE 29, PAGE 35.

The inscription to his mother Laurentia was discovered a few years ago by Wilpert, *Nuovo Bullettino*, 1903, p. 53, and Tavola 3. Unfortunately four words at the ends of the lines are missing, so that it is impossible to determine with certainty what they were. The original marble is lost, except five letters in fragments, and we have only the impression on a block of cement. From it we learn the name of his mother, and that she was aged about ninety, or more, when she died. The name of his father is not known. The inscription to his sister Irene is a touching monument of brotherly affection. *Carm.* 31, col. 405, 406, P. L. 13.

NOTE 30, PAGE 35.

Damasus:

Qui gradiens pelagi fluctus compressit amaros
Vivere qui praestet morientia semina terrae
Solvere qui potuit Lazaro sua vincula mortis
Post tenebras fratrem post tertia lumina solis,
Ad superos iterum Mariae donare sorori
Post cineres Damasum faciet quia surgere credo.

(He Who walked upon the fierce waves of the sea and stilled them by His command; Who makes the plant to grow from the mouldering seed; Who could loose the bonds of death from Lazarus after the darkness of three days, and restore a brother to life and to his sister Mary, He, I believe, will make Damasus to rise again from his ashes.) *Carm.* 34, col. 408, 409, P. L. 13.

One text reads Marthae instead of Mariae.

NOTE 31, PAGE 36.

Gregory the Great (590–604) was elected Pope in 590. At the end of the year 589, the Tiber had overflowed, ruining buildings and destroying the crops, causing famine and pestilence. The Lombards had devastated the country, murdering and driving away the inhabitants, so that the whole Campagna became a waste from this time, and full of malaria. The sermon was delivered about 590, on the anniversary of their martyrdom.

Sancti isti ad quorum tumbam consistimus, florentem mundum mentis despectu calcaverunt. . . . . Ubique mors, ubique luctus, ubique desolatio, ubique percutimur, ubique amaratudinibus replemur. . . . . Aliquando nos mundus delectatione sibi tenuit; nunc tantis plagis plenus est, ut ipse nos jam mundus mittat ad Deum.

(These Saints, at whose tomb we stand, trod under foot the beautiful world and despised it. . . . . Everywhere is death, everywhere mourning, everywhere desolation, everywhere we are smitten, everywhere we are filled with bitterness. . . . . Sometimes the world has drawn us to itself by its pleasures; now it is so full of such great misfortunes, that the world itself sends us to God.) *Hom.* 28 *in Evang.*, l. 2, col. 1212, 1213, P. L. 76.

NOTE 32, PAGE 36.

Damasus erected this inscription in honor of Nereus and Achilleus:

Militiae nomen dederant saevumque gerebant
Officium pariter spectantes jussa tyranni
Praeceptis pulsante metu servire parati

Mira fides rerum subito posuere furorem
Conversi fugiunt, ducis impia castra relinquunt
Projiciunt clypeos, phaleras telaque cruenta
Confessi gaudent Christi portare triumphos
Credite per Damasum possit quid gloria Christi.

(They became soldiers, and held a cruel office, in like manner awaiting the commands of the tyrant, ready to obey his orders impelled by fear. O wonderful faith! they suddenly abandoned the military service. Having become converted, they fly, they leave the impious camps of their leader, they throw away their shields, their decorations and their bloody weapons. Having confessed the faith, they rejoice to bear the triumphs of Christ. Believe from Damasus what the glory of Christ can accomplish.) *Carm.* 25, col. 399, 400, P. L. 13.

NOTE 33, PAGE 36.

Pope Gelasius (492–496) promulgated a Decree in which he informs us that the "Acts of the Martyrs" were not read in the services of the Roman Church:

Item gesta sanctorum martyrum, qui multiplicibus tormentorum cruciatibus, et mirabilibus confessorum triumphis irradiant. Quis ita esse catholicorum dubitet, et majora eos in agonibus fuisse perpessos, nec suis viribus, sed Dei gratia et adjutorio universa tolerasse? Sed ideo secundum antiquam consuetudinem singulari cautella in sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripsere nomina penitus ignorantur: et ab infidelibus et idiotis superflua, aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur. . . . . Propter quod, ut dictum est, ne vel levis subsannandi oriretur occasio in sancta Romana Ecclesia non leguntur.

(Also the Acts of the Holy Martyrs, who are illustrious by countless tortures and torments, and the wonderful triumphs of Confessors. What Catholic can doubt the truth of these things, and that they suffered even greater things in their trials, and that they endured everything, not by their own strength, but by the grace and help of God? Therefore according to ancient custom, by a singular caution, they are not read in the Holy Roman Church, because both the names of those who wrote the accounts are entirely unknown, and because it is thought by unbelievers and ignorant persons that things are written which are superfluous and different from what they really were. . . . For this reason, as has been said, they are not read in the Holy Roman Church, lest even a slight occasion for showing contempt should arise.) *Acta Conc. Rom.* 1, n. 4, col. 160, 161, P. L. 59.

These interpolated Acts of the Martyrs are valuable in this way: — The compilers of them would naturally be particular to be exact as to events and localities with which every one was acquainted, — the more so the better; and it would follow that their additions, exaggerations, and wonderful miracles would be more readily believed, if some parts exactly agreed with what was universally accepted as true.

NOTE 34, PAGE 40.

The magnificent round Mausoleum which Valentinianus II had erected as a family tomb, about the end of the fourth century, outside of the basilica of St. Peter, and adjoining it at the left of the apse, Paul I (757–767) converted into the chapel of St. Petronilla. It was destroyed when the old church was demolished. See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, c. 4, pp. 200–205; *Liber Pontificalis, Paulus*, c. 95, n. 5, p. 464, T. 1.

NOTE 35, PAGE 40.

Pope Honorius I (625–638), rebuilt the basilica of St. Pancratius, and moved the position of the sarcophagus, according to an inscription:

Corpus martyris quod ex obliquo aulae jacebat altari insignibus ornato metallis proprio loco collocavit.

(The body of the Martyr, which was laid obliquely to the hall, he placed in a special repository in an altar ornamented with beautiful metals.) De Rossi, *Inscrip. Christ.*, p. 156, Vol. 2.

This is believed to be the first instance of the translation of the body of a martyr in Rome. Previous to this time the body probably remained in the same tomb in which it had been placed at the time of his martyrdom.

NOTE 36, PAGE 41.

Pope Hormisdas (514–523). Legates were sent to Pope Hormisdas from Justinian, afterwards Emperor of the East, with the request that some relics of St. Lawrence and of the Apostles might be given to them to place in a church. They explained that it was contrary to the custom of the Roman Church to bestow such gifts, although in accordance with the usage of the Eastern Church:

Habuit quidem petitio praedicti viri secundum morem Graecorum, et nos contra consuetudinem sedis apostolicae exposuimus.

(The petition of the aforesaid was indeed in accordance with the Greek custom, and we explained that it was contrary to the custom of the Apostolic See.) Col. 474, P. L. 63.

The letter of Justinian is given in col. 475.

NOTE 37, PAGE 41.

Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) wrote the Empress Constantina:

Nam corpora sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum tantis in ecclesiis coruscant miraculis atque terroribus, ut neque ad orandum sine magno illuc timore possit accedi. . . . . Praeter haec autem sanctae memoriae decessor meus, itidem ad corpus sancti Laurentii martyris quaedam meliorare desiderans, dum nescitur ubi venerabile corpus esset collocatum, effoditur exquirendo, et subito sepulcrum ipsius ignoranter apertum est; et ii qui praesentes erant atque laborabant, monachi et mansionarii qui corpus ejusdem martyris viderunt, quod quidem minime tangere praesumpserunt omnes infra decem dies defuncti sunt, ita ut nullus vitae superesse potuisset, qui sanctum justi corpus illius viderat.

Cognoscat autem tranquillissima domina quia Romanis consuetudo non est quando sanctorum reliquias dant, ut quidquam tangere praesumant de corpore, sed tantummodo in pyxide brandeum mittitur, atque ad sanctissima corpora sanctorum ponitur. Quod levatum in ecclesia quae dedicanda debita cum veneratione reconditur, et tantae per hoc ibidem virtutes fiunt, ac si illuc specialiter eorum corpora deferantur. . . . . In Romanis namque vel totius Occidentis partibus omnino intolerabile est atque sacrilegium, si sanctorum corpora tangere quisquam fortasse voluerit. Quod si praesumpserit, certum est quia haec temeritas impunita nullo modo remanebit.

De corporibus vero beatorum apostolorum quid ego dicturus sum, dum constet quia eo tempore quo passi sunt ex Oriente fideles venerunt qui eorum corpora sicut civium suorum repeterent? Quae ducta usque ad secundum urbis milliarum, in loco qui dicitur Catacumbas collocata sunt. Sed dum ea exinde levare omnis eorum multitudo conveniens niteretur, ita

eos vis tonitrui atque fulguris nimio metu terruit atque dispersit, ut talia denuo nullatenus attentare praesumerent. Tunc autem exeuntes Romani eorum corpora qui hoc ex Domini pietate meruerunt, levaverunt, et in locis quibus nunc sunt condita posuerunt.

Quis ergo serenissima domina, tam temerarius possit existere, ut haec sciens, eorum corpora non dico tangere, sed vel aliquatenus praesumat inspicere.

(For the bodies of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul are so noted in their churches for miracles and terror, that one can not even approach there to pray without great fear. . . . But in addition to this my predecessor of holy memory (Pelagius II) when he also was desirous of making some improvements at the tomb of St. Lawrence the martyr, when it was unknown where his venerable body had been placed, it was dug out upon search, and suddenly his sepulchre was opened through ignorance, and those who were present, and those who were at work, monks and custodians, who had seen the body of the martyr, which they had by no means presumed to touch, all these died within ten days, so that no one could survive who had seen the holy body of that just man.

But know Most Serene Lady, that it is not the custom of the Romans when they give relics of the saints, to presume to touch the body, but a linen-cloth only is put into a pyx, and placed beside the most holy bodies of the Saints. This being taken into the church which is to be dedicated, is put away with due veneration, and as many virtues result thereby as would have been the case had their bodies been specially brought thither. . . . . For throughout the Roman possessions, or indeed in the whole Western world, it is an intolerable thing and a sacrilege for any one even to wish to touch the bodies of the saints. If they presume to do so, it is certain that this rashness will in nowise remain unpunished.

But what shall I say of the bodies of the blessed Apostles, since it is well known that at the time when they suffered, believers came from the East to take back their bodies as being those of their fellow citizens? These having been carried as far as the second mile from the city, were put down at a place called the Catacombs. But when their whole assembled multitude attempted to take them away, a storm of thunder and lightning so terrified them and scattered them, that they never again presumed to attempt such a thing. Then the Romans going forth, took up the bodies of those who by the goodness of the Lord had merited this, and deposited them in the places where they are now buried. Who then now, Most Serene Lady, can possibly be so rash, knowing these things, as to presume, I do not say to touch their bodies, but even to look upon them!) L. 4, *Ep.* 30 *ad Constantinam August.*, col. 702, 703, P. L. 77.

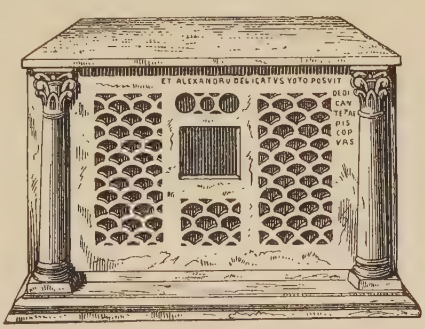
NOTE 38, PAGE 41.

The altars of the Christian Church bore no resemblance to pagan altars; the latter were usually small, and constructed substantially in the style shown in the cut; others, however, were larger, and much like a Christian altar in their general characteristics.

The next engraving shows a Christian altar from the tomb of St. Alexander, at a Catacomb on the Via Nomentana, near Rome.

It is no wonder that the Christians were accused of having no altar, and no God, because they did not have an image of the Deity in their places of worship. The primitive Christian altar was in the shape of a table, and it was often called the Holy Table. It was nearly square, and not as long or high as it was later. It did not need to be very large when it was placed over a martyr's tomb in the crypt, but it had to be

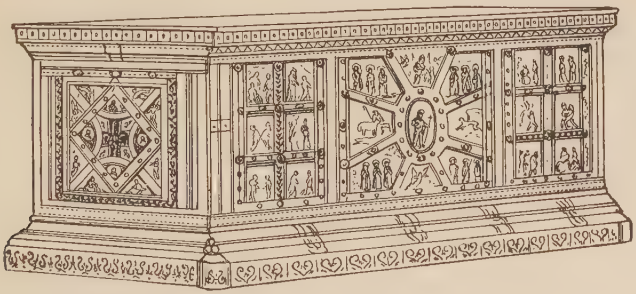
made longer when it became the custom to place bones in it. As in early times no burials were allowed in the city, this was not done in Rome itself, at least, till about the sixth century. There was but one altar in a church till the cult of relics began, when they were erected first in side chapels, and afterwards in the church itself. The Martyr was buried under the altar as a mark of honor, and perhaps because they are so represented by St. John in the Apocalypse, 6 : 9–11 :



"I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held:

"And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

"And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."



The altar of St. Ambrose in the Milan Cathedral, which is shown in the illustration above, dates from 835. It is seven feet three inches long, four feet one inch in height, and four

feet four inches wide. The front is of gold, the back and ends are silver.

In the Church of St. Vitalis, in Ravenna, there is a quaint mosaic which probably dates from the sixth century, showing a Greek Altar, at which Melchizedek, "King of Salem, ... and Priest of the Most High God," is represented as offering bread and wine. See Genesis 14 : 18.

NOTE 39, PAGE 42.

It is said that Hadrian's porphyry sarcophagus was appropriated by Innocent II (1130–1143), for his tomb at the Lateran, and that it was destroyed by fire in 1308 or 1360, when the church was burnt.

NOTE 40, PAGE 43.

Damasus :

O semel atque iterum vero de nomine Felix
Qui intemerata fide contempto principe mundi
Confessus Christum coelestia regna petisti.
O vere pretiosa fides cognoscite fratres
Qui ad coelum victor pariter properavit Adauctus
Presbyter his Verus Damaso rectore jubente
Composuit tumulum Sanctorum limina adornans.

(O twice Felix! of a true name, who with unshaken faith, despising the Prince of the world, having confessed Christ, didst seek the heavenly kingdom. O truly precious faith! Acknowledge it, brothers! Adauctus with him, a victor, hastened to heaven. The priest Verus, at the request of his bishop Damasus, prepared a tomb for them, adorning the threshold of the Saints.) *Carm.* 24, col. 399, P. L. 13.

Damasus plays on the word Felix, which means happy. The Saint was happy in name and in his martyrdom.

Mosaic in the Church of St. Vitalis, Ravenna.

NOTE 41.

CHRISTIANITY AND ART.

It is a very common opinion that the early Christians were totally opposed to art, to pictures, and images or statues. As such things were forbidden to the Jews, it is supposed by many that the Christians of course rejected them. This is a mistake. They did not have images in their churches, nor did they use them to represent the Deity, as did the pagans. The Spanish Council of Elvira in 305, forbade the painting on the walls of the churches what was worshiped, for fear of idolatry:

Placuit picturas in Ecclesiis esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

(We decree that pictures should not be placed in churches, nor what is worshiped and adored, be painted on the walls.) *Can.* 36, p. 7, T. 2, Bruns.

But quite early they did use paintings of sacred subjects, and when the Saviour was represented, it was always an ideal person, and generally as the Good Shepherd, with a lamb over His shoulders. Many of the traditions that have come down to us are false. The letter which P. Lentulus is said to have sent to the Roman Senate, giving an account of the Saviour's crucifixion and person, is apocryphal; as is also the letter said to have been sent by the Saviour with His portrait to Abgarus, King of Edessa, and the portraits attributed to St. Luke and others. All these stories are unworthy of attention. We also have spurious inscriptions which are claimed to have been found in the Catacombs. See Marucchi, *Eléments*, T. 2, *Les Catacombes*, l. 2, c. 2, pp. 127, 128. Eusebius in his history (L. 7, c. 18, col. 680, P. G. 20), speaks of a statue existing in his time at Baneas (modern Paneas), in the north of Palestine, said to have been erected by the woman cured of an issue of blood, recorded in Matthew 9: 20. Doubtless this was an ideal one. It was destroyed by the pagans in the time of

Julian the Apostate. Eusebius and Epiphanius rather discouraged the use of images.

After the fourth century, when Christianity prevailed and was more at liberty to express itself as it pleased, paintings and mosaics were found everywhere — in the Catacombs and in the churches. Sarcophagi covered with sculptures representing sacred subject have been used from early times. Constantine made great gifts of gold and silver ornaments and statues to the church of the Saviour at the Lateran, now St. John. Among them were a statue of the Saviour five feet high, of pure silver, weighing one hundred and twenty pounds, and of the twelve Apostles, also of silver, each five feet high, and weighing ninety pounds each. See *Liber Pontificalis*, *Silvester*, c. 34, n. 9, p. 172, T. 1. He made like gifts to all the basilicas built by him, and also endowed them with lands, pp. 172–186.

After 394 the pagan temples were closed, and for a long time their statues, as works of art, adorned the streets and forums. Prudentius speaks of the time when the idolatrous statues should cease to be objects of worship and become works of art and noble ornaments of their country. *Contr. Symmarch.*, l. 2, col. 160, 161, P. L. 60; *Peristeph. Hym.*, 2, col. 325, 326, P. L. 60.

Tertullian informs us that the Christians made constant use of the sign of the cross.

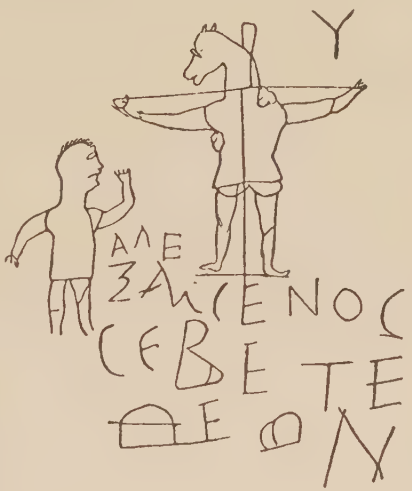
Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus.

(At every movement and motion, at every coming in and going out, when we dress and put on our shoes, at the bath, at the table, when we light up, when we go to bed, when we

sit down, whenever we engage in conversation, we mark our foreheads with the sign of the cross.) *De Cor. Milit.*, c. 3, p. 188, Pars 1.

It seems strange then that in the Catacombs the sign of the cross is very rarely found till after the "Peace of the Church" in the fourth century. The reason probably is that as the cross, like our gallows, was an instrument of punishment, the Christians refused to expose to the eyes of the pagans our Lord's mode of suffering, which would have been to them an object of ridicule.

The first representation of the Crucifixion known is the blasphemous one of the second century, found in 1856, on the Palatine in the ruins of the Golden House. It is now in the Museo Kircheriano, Rome. It represents a man, with the head of an ass, stretched on a cross, and before him stands a man worshiping, with these words in Greek rudely scratched in the mortar ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟC CEBETE ΘΕΩΝ "Alexamenos worships God."



Tertullian informs us that a gladiator at Carthage paraded the streets with the figure of an ass bearing this inscription, Deus Christianorum (The God of the Christians.) *Apol.*, c. 16, p. 80, Pars 1.

The crucifix did not begin to be used till much later, about the sixth century. In the oldest representations the Saviour is never nude, but clothed in a tunic, sometimes a long one.

See the painting in the Catacomb of St. Valentine and in the Church Sancta Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum. In the old representations He is fastened to the cross by four nails. The modern custom of three nails began about the thirteenth century.

In due time the nimbus was added to statues, paintings and mosaics of Saints by way of distinction. This custom was also common to the pagans. On the Arch of Constantine the Emperor Trajan has a nimbus; the Emperor Antoninus has one on some of his coins, and at Ravenna the heads of Theodora and Justinian are so represented. In a mosaic at Santa Maria Maggiore, King Herod has a nimbus! The square nimbus indicates that the person so decorated was alive when the work was done.

In the painting of the Blessed Virgin and the Child Jesus, of the first half of the second century, in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla (see p. 19), neither of them has the nimbus,—a proof of great antiquity.

Up to the fourth century the nimbus was reserved to the Saviour and the Angels; in the fifth it was also given to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.

See Wilpert's recent work, *Roma sotterranea*, Roma, 1903, for pictures from the Roman Catacombs.

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